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Carl Suneson

ŚAURIKATHODAYA

A YAMAKA POEM BY VĀSUDEVA

Edited with translation, notes and introduction

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RASHTRIYA SANSKRIT SANSTHAN (UNDER MINISTRY OF H.R.D. GOVT. OF INDIA) ★
ACCESSION NO.................
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Edited by Siegfried Lienhard, William L. Smith and Carl Suneson

Carl Suneson

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A YAMAKA POEM BY VĀSUDEVA

Edited with Translation, Notes and Introduction

Second Revised Edition

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Yamaka is a rhetorical figure mainly employed in later ornate Sanskrit poetry. It can be defined as a kind of ambiguous rhyme where a sequence of syllables is repeated in each line of a verse but with a different division of words. The present work is an edition with an annotated translation of a hitherto unpublished epic yamaka poem by the South Indian poet Vāsudeva (c. A.D. 900). The interesting features of the text, apart from its literary form, are its linguistic peculiarities and the fact that it reflects a variety of Kṛṣṇa traditions, many of which are typical of South India.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND REVISED EDITION

The present edition of the **Śaurikathodaya** is based on a MS I acquired during a stay in India in 1965–66. This was made possible through scholarships I obtained from the Government of India and the University of Stockholm. The late Professor V. Raghavan, then Head of the Department of Sanskrit at the University of Madras, made the MS accessible to me and generously devoted much of his time in reading 'alaṃkāra' texts together with me during my stay in Madras in 1966. My teacher Professor Siegfried Lienhard, Head of the Department of Indology at the University of Stockholm, who has always been a source of encouragement to me ever since I began my indological studies in 1962, gave me much aid and valuable advice during the writing of the present thesis. Docent William L. Smith kindly read the text and improved my English. The work was first published in a limited edition as Vol. 1 in *Skrifter utgivna av Föreningen för Orientaliska Studier,* Stockholm 1969.

The loss of my eyesight has prevented as thorough a revision as I would have liked, and as in the previous edition the **Harivaṃśa** is cited, except where otherwise stated, from the Poona edition. In revising my work and checking the manuscript I have received most valuable assistance from Fil.kand. Bruno Danielsson who has also made several fruitful suggestions. Additional important help has been extended to me by Fil.kand. Leif Asplund and Fil.lic. Erik af Edholm. Further, I have benefited from observations made by Professor Georg von Simson, University of Oslo. For some botanical information I am indebted to Roger Lundin, Curator at the Swedish Museum of Natural History, Stockholm. A first draft of my difficult manuscript was typed by Fil.kand. David Ståhl. For the excellent final realization Miss Iréne Strindhed is responsible, and she has generously read out material to me during the whole period of revision.

Finally, I must record my gratitude to *Konung Gustaf VI Adolfs fond för svensk kultur* and to the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences for bearing the costs of publication.

Stockholm, January 1986

Carl Suneson

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Introduction

Introduction

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The present edition of the **Śaurikathodaya** is based on a transcript of an unpublished manuscript[1] preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The MS, which also contains the commentary **Tattvaprakāśikā** by Nīlakaṇṭha, is described as follows: "Substance, paper. Size 10 3/4 x 8 5/8 inches. Pages 373. Lines 20 on a page. Character, Devanagari. Condition, good. Appearance, new."[2] In addition another incomplete manuscript exists in the same library. It also contains the **Tripuradahana** and the **Nalodaya** and its description is: "Śrītāla 7 1/2 x 1. Foll. 165. Lines 6 in a page. Malayalam. Good. Purchased in 1915–16 from M.R. Ry. Appuṇṇi of Elappuḷḷi, near Palghat ... b) Śaurikathodayaḥ. Foll. 26a–63b. Breaks off after the fourth āśvāsa. Colophon: iti Śaurikathāyāṃ caturtha āśvāsa."[3] A third manuscript is preserved in Trivandrum. Its description is: "Substance, palm leaf. Size 9" x 2". Leaves 30. 10 lines per page and 34 letters per line. Script – Malayalam. No. of Granthas 600."[4]

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[1] Hereafter simply referred to as the MS.

[2] **A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,** Vol. XX, Kavyas, Madras 1918, No. 11815.

[3] **A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts collected during the triennium 1919–1920 to 1921–1922 for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,** Vol. II, Part I, Sanskrit C, Madras 1917, R. No. 1852. In addition to these four 'āśvāsas' this manuscript contains two verses from the fifth corresponding to 5,1 and 69 in No. 11815. Verses 1,1 and 6-8 have been published by V. SHARMA in his article **Yamakakavi Vāsudeva,** Proceedings of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, Tirupati 1940, p. 192 n. 1.

[4] **A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum,** Vol. IX, Kavyas, Trivandrum 1941, No. 1443 C Śaurikatha. Referred to as T in the textual notes. The first seven verses of this MS have been published by A. S. R. AYYAR in his article **The Authorship of the Nalodaya,** JRAS 1925, p. 274.

In the notes of my translation I have quoted frequently from one of the two commentaries on **Śaurikathodaya**, the **Anvayabodhikā** of Nityāmṛtayati. This manuscript belongs to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and its description is: "Paper, 10 5/8 x 9 1/2, Foll. 54. Lines 20 in a page. Devanagari. Good. Transcribed in 1921–22 from a manuscript of M. R. Ry. Vallabha Valiya Raja, Aiyainali–Koilakam, Manakutai port, Malabar District. The text also called Śaurikathodaya. Complete."[5] Another manuscript of the same commentary is preserved in Trivandrum.[6]

The readings of the original text found in the commentary agree mostly with those of the MS edited here. However, they do not seem to belong to the same textual tradition as Nit. contains more verses than the MS and some of their readings differ completely (e.g. 3,48b and 6,78a). On the whole Nit. seems to have preserved better readings than the MS. My copy of the manuscript is for the most part clearly written but it contains a number of corruptions. However, what has complicated the interpretation of the MS is that the scribes seem to have been somewhat ignorant of the yamaka style in which the text is written and in many places not to have understood the actual meaning of the words. Therefore, as can be seen from the textual notes, to a great extent the words have been wrongly divided.

Some noteworthy features of the MS, exemplifying external sandhi may be pointed to. In some instances 'm' before plosives changes into the corresponding nasals, e.g. 3,51a 'dattasantamanan tam'. Likewise 'm' is assimilated into 'n' before 'n', e.g. 2,3b 'yan naśyeyuḥ'. These phenomena are characteristic of the older language but also occurs in inscriptions.[7]

When dental 'n' appears before sibilants the surd is sometimes inserted, e.g. 3,33b 'āśliṣṭavānt sapulakāntābhyām'. The age of these uncommon transitional sounds is somewhat controversial.[8]

The MS also exhibits some features peculiar to South Indian manuscripts generally, such as the simplification of double sibilants[9] and the confusion of 'b' and 'v',[10] as well as those found in Malayalam manuscripts specifically, such as the confusion between 'p' and 'v'[11] and between 't' and 'm' in final position.[12]

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[5] **A Triennial Catalogue ...**, Vol. IV, Part I, Sanskrit C, Madras 1928, R. No. 3718 Śaurikathāvyākhyā–Anvayabodhikā. Hereafter referred to as Nit.

[6] **A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts ...**, No. 1437b, Śaurikathāvyākhyā.

[7] J. WACKERNAGEL, **Altindische Grammatik**, Band I, Göttingen 1957, p. 333.

[8] Op. cit. p. 332.

[9] See p. 111 n. 75.

[10] See **The Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka**, ed. by G. H. SCHOKKER, Indo-Iranian Monographs 9, The Hague – Paris 1966, p. 12. In 'yamaka' poems 'b' and 'v' are regarded as the same sound (**Sāhityadarpaṇa**, 10,8). Cf. L. RENOU, **Grammaire sanscrite**, 2nd ed., Paris 1961, p. 59.

The 'avagraha' has often been omitted, something which, however, is not uncommon in Sanskrit manuscripts.[13]

Some minor instances of external sandhi have tacitly been corrected and the words 'tatva' and 'satva' have been changed to 'tattva' and 'sattva'.

In the notes to the translation, the commentary is quoted without any kind of emendation.

VĀSUDEVA AND HIS WORKS

Different authors with the name Vāsudeva

A number of authors with the name Vāsudeva have contributed to the growth of Sanskrit literature, both with original works and commentaries. The majority of these have lived in South India (present-day Kerala).[14] As their chronology in many cases is rather uncertain and several of them also wrote the same type of poems (yamaka poems),[15] scholars have often been mistaken in identifying them. The following different authors from South India called Vāsudeva can be distinguished:

1. Vāsudeva, author of the yamaka poems **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya, Tripuradahana, Śaurikathodaya,** and (perhaps) the **Nalodaya;** 9–10th cent.
2. Vāsudeva of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family; 15th cent. This Vāsudeva was both a poet and a scholar. He wrote yamaka poems – **Devīcarita, Acyutalīlā, Satyatapaḥkathā, Śivodaya** – and has there-

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[11] 3,12a ('govanataḥ'). See **The Pādatāḍitaka ...,** p. 321.

[12] 1,1b ('yaṃ padam'). See ibid.

[13] L. RENOU, op. cit. p. xviii.

[14] One Vāsudeva from Northern India (1500–1700) wrote a commentary on Subandhu's **Vāsavadattā** (see P. K. GODE, **Date of Vāsudeva's Commentary on the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu – Between AD 1500 and 1700,** Studies in Indian Literary History, Vol. 2, Singhi Jain Series No. 38, Bombay 1954, pp. 182–88) and another from Mahārāṣṭra (1450–1700) wrote a commentary on the **Karpūramañjarī** (see P. K. GODE, **Date of Vāsudeva's Commentary on the Karpūramañjarī of Rājaśekhara,** Studies in Indian Literature History, Vol. 3, Poona 1956, pp. 220–22).

[15] 'yamaka' is a rhetorical figure mainly employed in later ornate Sanskrit poetry. It can be defined as a kind of ambiguous rhyme where a sequence of syllables is repeated in each line of a verse but with a different division of words. Together with 'upamā', 'rūpaka', and 'dīpaka', it belongs to the four oldest 'alaṃ-

fore sometimes been identified with Vāsudeva 1. He also wrote some astronomical works in poetic form; **Vākyāvalī** and **Kaumārilayuktimālā.**[16]

3. Vāsudeva, author of the **Vāsudevavijaya** from the 16th cent.[17] which illustrates the rules of Pāṇini. KEITH[18] and ZACHARIAE[19] seem to think that Vāsudeva 1 and 3 are identical. PISHAROTI[20] identifies him with Vāsudeva 2. Another poet, Melpuṭṭūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, wrote his **Dhātukāvya** as a continuation of **Vāsudevavijaya** which WINTERNITZ[21] wrongly thinks is also the work of Vāsudeva 3. KEITH[22] moreover makes Vāsudeva 1 the author. KUNJUNNI RAJA[23] is inclined to ascribe other works such as **Govindacarita, Saṃkṣepabhārata,** and **Kalyāṇanaiṣadha,** to this Vāsudeva.

4. Vāsudeva, author of a later undated work **Rāmakathā**[24] which is ascribed to Vāsudeva 3 by PISHAROTI.[25]

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kāras'. Along with other forms of riddle poetry it enjoyed great popularity among literary circles but because of its high demands on the listener or the reader this particular style was accessible only to the connoisseur. See. S. LIENHARD, **A History of Classical Poetry,** A History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, Sanskrit — Pali — Prakrit. (Ed. by J. Gonda, Wiesbaden 1984, p. 153.) For information about the various definitions of the 'yamaka' concept and the many different types of 'yamaka', see G. JENNER, **Die poetischen Figuren der Inder von Bhāmaha bis Mammaṭa,** Schriften des Europa-Kollegs Hamburg, Bd 5, Hamburg 1968, pp. 136-42.

[16] KUNJUNNI RAJA, **Vāsudeva, Author of the Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya,** Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume, Madras 1946, pp. 380-81 and id. **The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature,** Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 23, Madras 1958, pp. 95-96.

[17] KUNJUNNI RAJA, **Vāsudeva, Author ...,** pp. 381-83 and id. **The Contribution ...,** p. 124.

[18] "A Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya with a continuation, Dhātukāvya dealing with the Bharata story and grammar and roots ... is ascribed to Vāsudeva ... possibly the Vāsudeva of the rimed poems ...", **History of Sanskrit Literature,** Reprint, London ... 1961, p. 133 n. 3.

[19] "Vielleicht ist auch das grammatische Gedicht Vāsudevavijaya von unserem Vāsudeva verfasst worden: ebenso der Bhramarasaṃdeśa, eine Nachahmung des Meghadūta"; **Zur Frühgeschichte der Sanskritphilologie,** ZII, Vol. 4, 1926, p. 225.

[20] **Rāmakathā — A Study,** BSOS, Vol. V.4, p. 799.

[21] "Aus unbekannter Zeit stammen zwei Gedichte Vāsudevavijaya und Dhātukāvya von einem Dichter Vāsudeva ...", **Geschichte der indischen Literatur,** Bd 3, Reprint, Stuttgart 1968, p. 73 n. 1.

[22] See n. 18.

[23] **Vāsudeva, Author ...,** pp. 382-83 and id. **The Contribution ...,** pp. 203-5.

[24] KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution ...,** p. 240.

[25] Op. cit.

5. Vāsudeva, author of a commentary on **Viddhaśālabhañjikā** of Rājaśekhara; 15–16th cent.[26]

6. Vāsudeva, author of the **Bhramarasandeśa** or **Bhṛṅgasandeśa**, an imitation of **Meghadūta**. KUNJUNNI RAJA[27] places it in the 17th cent. but R. ĀCĀRYA[28] believes he can fix the date to 1575. ZACHARIAE[29] thinks that this Vāsudeva might be identical with Vāsudeva 1, the author of the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya**. PISHAROTI[30] identifies Vāsudeva 5 with Vāsudeva 2 and 3.

7. A **Cakorasandeśa** is also attributed to a Vāsudeva.[31] R. ĀCĀRYA,[32] however, gives the name of the author as Perusūri.

AUFRECHT[33] does not differentiate between Vāsudeva 1, 3, and 6, and attributes **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya, Tripuradahana, Vāsudevavijaya,** and **Bhramaradūta,** to one Vāsudeva only. V. SHARMA[34] ascribes the works of all above-mentioned authors (except No. 5) to one and the same Vāsudeva and thereby gets a list of twenty-five works. S. K. DE[35] seems to share his views.

Vāsudeva's date

Our Vāsudeva is generally credited with three works: the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya,**[36] the **Tripuradahana,**[37] and the **Śaurikathodaya** which is edited here for the first time. Due to the fact that the first complete manuscripts of the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** were found in Kashmir and the Kashmirian Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha has commented upon it, the first editors of it claimed a Kashmirian origin for Vāsudeva.[38] However, there is no doubt that he was a South Indian.[39] Local traditions in Kerala associate Vāsudeva with the village Perumanam near present-day Trichūr and make him a Nambūtiri Brahman, belonging to the Pattaṭṭu family.[40] For details about Vāsudeva and in order to settle his date we are restricted to the scanty information that can be had from the preambles of his works:

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[26] KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution ...**, p. 72.

[27] KUNJUNNI RAJA, **Vāsudeva, Author ...**, p. 384, and id. **The Contribution ...**, pp. 233-36.

[28] **Saṃskṛt ke sandeś kāvya,** Ajmer 1963, p. 306.

[29] Op. cit. p. 223.

[30] Op. cit. p. 799.

[31] KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution ...**, p. 96.

[32] Op. cit. p. 484.

[33] **Catalogus Catalogorum,** Part 1, Reprint, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 567.

[34] Op. cit. pp. 188-89.

[35] DASGUPTA — DE, **A History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Period,** Vol. 1, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1962, p. 338 n. 1.

[36] Ed. in the Kāvyamālā (No. 60) with the commentary Śiśyahitā of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha by M. P. Śivadatta and K. P. Parāb, Bombay 1897; 2nd ed., Bombay 1930. New ed. together with a Hindī translation and introduction by V. ŚRĪVĀSTAVA, Vidyābhavan Sanskrit Granthamālā 152, Vārāṇasī 1968.

[37] Ed. by S. K. PILLAI together with the commentary Hṛdayagrāhiṇī of Paṅkajākṣa, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 181, Trivandrum 1956.

asti sa gajarājagatī rājavaro yena gatāśug ajarā jagatī |
bhīṣaṇam adhikaṃ kavayaḥ stuvanti janyaṃ yadīyam adhi-
kaṅkavayaḥ ||
taravo bhūricchāyāḥ samānaphaladāyinī ca bhūr icchāyāḥ |
savinayaśobhā janatā yadrājye yasya bhuvi yaśobhājanatā ||
tasya ca vasudhām avataḥ kāle kulaśekharasya vasudhāmavataḥ |
vedānām adhyāyī bhāratagurur abhavad ādyanāmadhyāyī ||
yaṃ prāpa ramā cāryaṃ devī ca giraṃ purāṇaparamācāryam |
yam aśubhasantodāntaṃ parameśvaram upadiśanti santo dāntam ||
jñānasamagrāmeyaṃ nivasantaṃ viprasattamagrāmeyam |
tilakaṃ bhūmāv āhur yasyārthiṣu dattabhūmibhūmā bāhuḥ ||
samajani kaścit tasya pravanaḥ śiśyo 'nuvartakaś cittasya |
kāvyānām āloke paṭumanaso vāsudevanāmā loke ||
kīrtim adabhrāṃ tena smaratā bhāratasudhāmadabhrāntena |
jagadupahāsāya mitā pārthakathā kalmaṣāpahā sā yamitā ||

Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya 1,4 — 10

asti sa kavilokanataḥ kṣitibhṛd arir yasya sainikavilokanataḥ |
bahuvipadi kṣudravati kṣmābhṛti kurvan padāni dikṣu dravati ||
sādhūnāṃ pātā yaḥ sthiravrato yaś ca pāpināṃ pātāya |
yasmād urvy āpāraṃ prītiṃ yasyāmalaṃ vidur vyāpāram ||
svapadapayojanate yaṃ sadaiva sampādakaṃ śriyo janateyam |
bhūtidharaṃ vyālapatisphuratkaraṃ rājaśekharaṃ vyālapati ||

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[38] 'kaśmīram antarasya kāvyasya viralapracāratvena kāśmīrikāv evaitau pārthivapaṇḍitau bhavetām. ata evasyopari kāśmīrikarājānakaratnakaṇṭhakṛtaiva vyākhyā samupalabdhā.' Bhūmikā, p. 1.

[39] "Vāsudeva gehört, daran ist kein Zweifel, dem Süden Indiens an." ZACHARIAE, op. cit. p. 224.

[40] "The well-known old Kāvyas are the Śrīkṛṣṇavilāsa of Sukumāra and the Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya of Pāṭhak Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭatīri, who belonged to the village of Perumanam." K. R. RAJA, **The Brahmins of Malabar**, JRAS, 1910, p. 638; see also KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution ...**, p. 20, concerning the popular tradition of how Vāsudeva became a poet.

rāmasamatvād eva sraṣṭā rāmākhyam akṛta matvā devaḥ |
yaṃ sa ca rakṣo 'pāyaṃ cakre 'sya ca karma janitarakṣopāyam ||[41]
nijayā tanvā netrapramodanaṃ prāṇināṃ vitanvāne 'tra |
matibalam āsādya mitaṃ puradahanaṃ ravibhuvā samāsād
yamitam ||

Tripuradahana 1,6 – 10

jayati sudhāmā rāmaḥ kṣitipālaḥ kāvyavīrudhām ārāmaḥ |
dadhadibhamastakalīlām aṃsena bibharti yo 'yam astakalīlām ||
asyāṃ me yamitāyāṃ śaurikathāyāṃ śubhaprameyamitāyām |
karuṇāleśaṃ santaḥ kurvantu kaver balābale śaṃsantaḥ ||

Śaurikathodaya 1,6 – 7

Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya tells us that:

1. There was a powerful king, who was praised by the poets, under whose reign the earth yielded plenty and the people were happy. (vv. 4–5)
2. The king's name was Kulaśekhara and that he had a teacher, Bharataguru by name, who was an expert of the **Vedas** and the **Purāṇas.** (vv. 6–7)
3. His teacher had unlimited knowledge and was very generous and that he had a disciple Vāsudeva. (vv. 8–9)
4. This Vāsudeva has written a yamaka poem based on **Mahābhārata.** (v. 10)

Tripuradahana tells us that:

1. There was a king, honoured by the poets and feared by his enemies, who was devout and a protector of the good and a destroyer of the wicked. (vv. 6–7)
2. The people were devoted to him and that he was a source of wealth. Further, that he was the foremost of kings[42] and due to his likeness to Rāma, also bore that name. (vv. 8–9)

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[41] This verse is not found in the published ed. of the text. The editor does not mention the manuscript he has utilized. A. S. AYYAR quotes it from a manuscript then preserved in the Palace Library in Tanjore; see op. cit. p. 265.

[42] 'rājaśekharam' is explained by the commentators as referring to the king's Śaivite leanings: 'rājaśekharaṃ rājñāṃ kṣatriyāṇāṃ śekharaṃ śiromaṇiṃ rājā candraḥ śekhare yasyeti śivapakṣaḥ' Nīlakaṇṭha. (Quoted from KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution ...**, p. 12 n. 53).

3. A poet, the son of Ravi (Ravibhū), has composed a yamaka poem dealing with the burning of Tripura. (v. 10)

Śaurikathodaya informs us that:

1. There was a glorious king Rāma who was a patron of poets and a protector of the earth. (v. 6)
2. A poet, referring to himself in the first person, has written a yamaka poem about Kṛṣṇa. (v. 7)

The information gained from these introductions, as well as the structure and similarities in the use of yamaka and the 'āryāgīti' metre,[43] seems to point to a common authorship of the three poems. Though Vāsudeva's name is mentioned only in the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** the commentators have identified him as the author of the other poems also.[44]

In order to settle the question of Vāsudeva's date it is necessary to give an answer to two difficult questions:

1. Is the king Kulaśekhara mentioned in the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** identical with the king Rāma mentioned in the **Tripuradahana** and in the **Śaurikathodaya**?
2. When did this king (these kings) live?

Of the early history of Kerala very little is known and the chronology is rather uncertain and most of the literature on the subject is in the Malayalam language. In ancient Kerala several kings, whose capital was Mahodayapuram, present-day Tiruvañcikkulam, bore the name Kulaśekhara.[45] They seem to have acquired the title Kulaśekhara at their coronation as we know that some of them had other proper names.[46] We know of two famous Kulaśekharas from

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[43] In conformity with the convention in most mahākāvya poems different meters are employed in the concluding verses of the cantos in the **Śaurikathodaya**. Thus we find 'pañcacāmara' in 1,74; 'pramāṇika' in 1,50–1,73, 2,49–2,51, 4,80 and 5,85; 'toṭaka' in 3,64; 'anuṣṭubh' in 6,107.

[44] Nīlakaṇṭha says in his commentary on the **Tripuradahana**:

> tripuradahanasaṃjñaṃ kāvyam etad vidhātuṃ
> kavir atha ravisūnur vāsudevābhidhānaḥ |
> ravibhuvā ravir nāmasya kaveḥ pitā tato
> bhavatīti ravibhūḥ tena vāsudevanāmnā |

and in his commentary on the **Śaurikathodaya**:

> aham iti kavir ātmānaṃ nirdiśati vāsudevanāmāham ity arthaḥ |

(Quoted from KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution** ..., p. 21 n. 103.)

[45] KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution** ..., p. 1.

[46] Ibid.

Kerala – Kulaśekhara Āḻvār, the Vaiṣṇava saint and author of the **Mukundamālā** and the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara, author of the **Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa** and the **Subhadradhanañjaya.**

The proper name of this second Kulaśekhara was Rāmavarman according to commentaries of the **Yudhiṣṭiravijaya**[47] and his date has been fixed to the beginning of the 10th cent. by NILAKANTA SASTRI.[48] Local traditions agree in making this Kulaśekhara the patron of Vāsudeva[49] and the conclusions of NILAKANTA SASTRI[50] and KUNJUNNI RAJA[51] that Vāsudeva lived around 900, during the reign of Rāmavarman who was crowned as Kulaśekhara, seem most probable.[52] A. S. R. AYYAR's attempt to make Kulaśekhara and Rāma father and son, can not be accepted as the sources are silent concerning the existence of a king Rāma and as we have seen the name Rāma was the proper name of king Kulaśekhara.

Statements, that intricate yamaka poems like Vāsudeva's could not have been written as early as the 10th century,[53] are of a very subjective nature and moreover, we know of other early complete yamaka poems.[54] An inscription from South India[55] mentions a king of Kerala, Ravivarman, who was crowned king with the title Kulaśekhara in 1312–13. ZACHARIAE[56] holds the view that he was Vāsudeva's patron and that Vāsudeva lived in the 14th cent. KEITH[57] agrees with him. This, however, is not very probable as we have seen that the name of the patron was Rāmavarman and not Ravivarman, and in addition KUNJUNNI RAJA[58] points out that Ravivarman Kulaśekhara's capital was situated in Quilon, while that of Rāmavarman Kulaśekhara was at Mahodayapuram.

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[47] kulaśekhara ity abhiṣekakṛtaṃ nāma
pitrādikṛtaṃ tu rāmavarmeti |

Vijayadarśikā

kulaśekharasya kulaśekhara iti nāmavataḥ |
etad abhiṣekakṛtaṃ nāma pitrādikṛtaṃ tu rāmavarmeti |

Ratnapradīpikā

(Quoted from KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution** ---, p. 14 n. 69.)

[48] **A History of South India,** London 1955, p. 333.

[49] See KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution** ---, p. 11, where it is said that the Brāhman Tolan, who assisted Kulaśekhara in his dramatical activities, wrote the following parody on Vāsudeva's 'yamaka' poems:

thapratha nandānandaṃ padadvayaṃ nātra janitanandānandam |
ṫanayaṃ vande vakyā nirarthakaṃ dalitadānavaṃ devakyāḥ ||

It seems to refer to the **Śaurikathoḍaya.**

[50] "This king also patronized Vāsudeva ...", **A History of South India,** p. 333.

[51] **The Contribution** ---, p. 22.

[52] The linguistic peculiarities of Vāsudeva, and also to some extent his imagery, resemble those of the **Śiśupālavadha** (for many examples of this see the notes of the translation). The date of the **Śiśupālavadha** is generally placed at the end of the 8th century and that of Vāsudeva might reasonably be not too far removed from this date.

[53] "... so werden wir uns nur schwer zu der Annahme entschliessen können, dass Vasudeva dem neunten Jahrhundert angehört." ZACHARIAE, op. cit. p. 226; "The date is improbable", KEITH, op. cit. p. 98.

[54] The 'yamaka' poem **Kīcakavadha** by Nītivarman is earlier than the 11th century; see DASGUPTA – DE, **A History of Sanskrit Literature,** p. 337.

[55] KIELHORN, **List of Inscriptions of Southern India,** p. 151.

Vāsudeva's works

Complete manuscripts of the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** (The Victory of Yudhiṣṭhira) were first discovered by BÜHLER and described by him in his **Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana, and Central India**, JBRAS, Extra No. 1887. The high reputation enjoyed by the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** in South India can be seen in the writings of the Carmelite PAULINUS S. BARTHOLOMAEO who visited India at the end of the 18th century and studied Sanskrit works there together with some Pandits.

In his **Sidha-Rūbam** he mentions the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** together with the **Śiśupālavadha** and the **Bhāgavatapurāṇa** as the "tres celeberrimi libri".[59] The **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** is the longest of Vāsudeva's works. In eight cantos it describes some of the well-known episodes from the **Mahābhārata** and set the model for many similar poems in South India.[60] Several commentaries, both in Sanskrit and Malayalam, are known.[61]

The **Tripuradahana** (The burning of Tripura) is the shortest of Vāsudeva's poems and relates in three cantos the defeat of the 'asuras' of the Three Cities by Śiva. Its subject matter is found in the Karṇaparvan of the **Mahābhārata**. KUNJUNNI RAJA writes that "Three commentaries on the poem are known"[62] but accord-

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56. ZACHARIAE, op. cit. pp. 226-27.
57. KEITH, op. cit. p. 98.
58. **The Contribution ...**, p. 24.
59. ZACHARIAE, op. cit. p. 227.
60. For many examples of this see KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution ...** In an early work, the **Pāṇḍavacarita**, the author of the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** is praised as follows:

tasmai namo 'stu kavaye vāsudevāya dhīmate |
yena pārthakathā ramyā yamitā lokapāvanī ||

(Quoted from KUNJUNNI RAJA, op. cit. p. 21 n. 99.)

61. For a list of these see KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution ...**, pp. 25-27.
62. Ibid. p. 27.

ing to the editor of the **Tripuradahana** there are five commentaries in the University Manuscripts Library in Trivandrum.[63]

The existence of **Śaurikathodaya** (The Dawn of Kṛṣṇa's Life-Story) was first noticed by A. S. R. AYYAR in 1925.[64] The work is also called **Śaurikathā** (see p. 3 n. 4), but this compound is not recorded in the dictionaries. The expression is found, however, in an interpolated verse in some South Indian manuscripts of the **Harivaṃśa**,[65] a work which constituted the primary source of inspiration for Vāsudeva in composing his **Śaurikathodaya.** It is difficult to translate 'udaya' adequately as it comprises several shades of meaning. It may refer to physical events of a spectacular nature such as sunrise or a moon-rise as well as to the commencement of good fortune for someone. Thereby it also acquires the meaning 'success'.[66] **Śaurikathodaya** describes some main incidents in Kṛṣṇa's life up to his victory over Bāṇāsura. KUNJUNNI RAJA states that it depicts "the story of Kṛṣṇa as is described in the tenth skandha of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa."[67] That statement is not correct, however, as the **Śaurikathodaya** is chiefly based on the **Harivaṃśa**,[68] as will be shown in the chapter on the sources of Vāsudeva's work. Two commentaries of this work are known to exist. One is written by Nīlakaṇṭha who was mentioned earlier as a commentator of the **Tripuradahana** also. It is called **Tattvaprakāśikā** and is a very elaborate work with copious quotations from other relevant texts. Its date is somewhat uncertain but it is most probably from the latter half of the 16th cent.[69] The other commentary, which has been used for this edition, is written by one Nityāmṛtayati[70] and is called **Anvayabodhikā**. About its age KUNJUNNI RAJA writes that it is "of unknown date".[71] However, its upper limit can be determined, as it quotes from the lexicographical works **Abhidhānaratnamālā** by Halāyudha, **Vaijayantī** by Yādavaprakāśa, and the lexicon by Bhaṭṭa Kṣīrasvāmin.[72] Therefore, it must be later than the 11th cent.

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[63] **Tripuradahana,** p. iii.

[64] **The Authorship of the Nalodaya,** pp. 273-75.

[65] The verse is included in the MSS T3 and M4 of the Critical Edition and runs as follows:

asatkīrtanakāntāraparivartanapāṃsulām |
vācam śaurikathālāpagaṅgayaiva punīmahe ||

"We purify our speech, which has become sandy on account of roaming about in the wilderness of untrue chanting, with water of the Gaṅgā which consists of reciting the story of Kṛṣṇa."

The **Harivaṃśa,** for the first time critically edited by P. L. VAIDYA, Vol. 1, Poona 1969, p. 5.

[66] "Ainsi, dans le riche choix des acceptions du mot udaya, le k. donne la préférence à celles de 'lever de soleil' et 'succès', qui, l'une par rapport à l'autre entrent dans les faciles (trop faciles) combinaisons", L. RENOU, **Sur la structure du kāvya,** JA, 1959, p. 107. n. 234.

[67] KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution ...,** p. 29.

[68] Parameśvara Aiyar Uḷḷūr rightly observes: 'śaurikathayit kavi harivaṃśatteyāṇŭ upajīvikkunnatŭ.' **Keralasāhityacaritram,** Vol. 1, 3rd ed., Trivandrum 1967, p. 186. This fact is also noticed by the Hindī ed. and transl. of the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya:** 'Śaurikathodaya nāmak kāvya meṃ Harivaṃś se sambandhit Kṛṣṇa ke jīvan kā varṇan hai', Bhūmikā, p. 14.

The problem of the Nalodaya

The most famous yamaka poem is probably the **Nalodaya** which at great length recapitulates the famous story of Nala and Damayantī. Most manuscripts attribute the work to Kālidāsa but some of them ascribe it to an Abhinavakālidāsa or Keśavāditya.[73] Kālidāsa's alleged authorship must of course be regarded as an absurdity and the first editor of it, Benary,[74] remarked: "... e seriore aetate Nalodayum esse profectum neque dubitandum quin noster auctor sit diversus ab eo poeta qui nubium nuntium (Meghadūta) cecinerit".[75] He could, however, not give the author's name. In 1887 a manuscript containing also a commentary was discovered by PETERSON, and described in the JBRAS, Extra No. 1887. This commentary, **Yamakabodhinī**, written in c. 1600 by a certain Rāmarṣi, being now preserved in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, claims the author of the **Nalodaya** to be Ravideva.[76] PISCHEL[77] as well as WINTERNITZ[78] became convinced about the correctness of that assertion. This view is still held by PISANI.[79] A. S. R. AYYAR's article[80] from 1925 was written with the express aim of demonstrating that the **Nalodaya** was also a work of Vāsudeva, author of the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya**, the **Tripuradahana**, and the **Śaurikathodaya.** An introductory verse of the **Nalodaya** mentions king Rāma whose name also occurs in the **Tripuradahana** and in the **Śaurikathodaya:**

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[69] KUNJUNNI RAJA, **The Contribution ...**, p. 29.

[70] His name is given in the colophon of the first chapter in R. No. 3718: 'iti śaurikathāvyākhyāyām anvayabodhikāyāṃ prathama āśvāsaḥ'.

[71] **The Contribution ...**, p. 29.

[72] Halāyudha lived in the 10th cent. and Yādavaprakāśa and Bhaṭṭa Kṣīrasvāmin in the 11th. See WINTERNITZ, op. cit. pp. 412-13, and RENOU — FILLIOZAT, **L'Inde classique,** Tome 2, Hanoi 1953, p. 101. Both Halāyudha and Yādavaprakāśa were natives of South India.

[73] See **New Catalogus Catalogorum,** Vol. 9, by KUNJUNNI RAJA, University of Madras, Madras 1977, p. 377.

[74] **Nalodaya, sanscritum carmen Calidaso adscriptum una cum Pradschnacari Mithilensis scholiis ed. latina interpretatione ... instruxit F. Benary,** Berolini 1830.

[75] Praefatio, p. xviii.

[76] "tañcāvūr sarasvatīmahalilul̤l̤a nal̤ōdayattinṟe oru kaiyeḻutupratiyit 'iti śrīkavicakracūḍāmaṇi bhaṭṭanārāyaṇasutaravidēva viracitē nal̤ōdayanāmani mahākāvye' ennu kāṇunnu. rāmarṣi enna paṇḍitan krī. pī. 1600-n racicciṭṭul̤l̤a yamakabōdhini enna vyākhyānattilum ravidēvakṛti enna tanneyāṇu paṟayunnatŭ." Parameśvara Aiyar Ul̤l̤ūr, op. cit. p. 139.

[77] "Es kanṅ als sicher gelten, dass sein Verfasser Ravideva ist ...", **Aufrecht, Theodor, Catalogus Catalogorum,** (Review) ZDMG 58, p. 244.

> asti sa rājā nīte rāmākhyo yo gatiḥ parā jānīte |
> yasya rarājānte ratnāni janaḥ kule dharājānīte ||

In the following verses he is glorified in a similar way as in the **Tripuradahana.**[81] In addition AYYAR had found another copy of Rāmarṣi's commentary which states that the author is Vāsudeva and he concluded: "Thus it can be assumed that Vāsudeva was the real author of the Nalodaya and that neither Kālidāsa nor a hypothetical Ravideva had anything to do with its composition."[82] ZACHARIAE[83] and KEITH[84] accept AYYAR's conclusion while KUNJUNNI RAJA[85] is more doubtful. What is required to test Vāsudeva's authorship of the **Nalodaya** is to make careful linguistic analysis of the text and compare it with Vāsudeva's other works. Below are offered remarks concerning a few linguistic similarities between the **Nalodaya** and the **Śaurikathodaya:**

1. In **Nalodaya** 1,2 occurs the rare word 'nā' (see **Śaurikathodaya** 3,30 and note) and a construction typical of Vāsudeva, rel. pron. + aor. pass. ('yo 'jani').
2. **Nalodaya** 1,3 tells how the 'asura' Śakaṭa was destroyed by Kṛṣṇa and the word 'nunna' ('pushed away') is used; this word is also used in **Śaurikathodaya** 1,21 which describes the same event.
3. In **Nalodaya** 1,11 occurs the perf. form 'āra' (from 'ṛ-') which is quite common in the **Śaurikathodaya.**

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[78] "Der Verfasser des Nalodaya ist wahrscheinlich Ravideva ...", op. cit. p. 64.

[79] **Storia delle letterature antiche dell'India,** 2nd ed., Roma 1959, p. 251.

[80] **The Authorship of the Nalodaya,** JRAS, pp. 263-75.

[81] AUFRECHT lists both Vāsudeva and a Ravisūnur as authors of a **Tripuradahana;** op. cit. p. 237. As we have already seen Vāsudeva also calls himself son of Ravi (Ravibhū) in the **Tripuradahana,** and Ravisūnur and Vāsudeva are then probably the same person.

[82] Op. cit. p. 268.

[83] "Dass Vasudeva den Nalodaya verfasst hat, scheint nach den Ausführungen Ramanathas ganz sicher zu sein", op. cit. p. 225 n. 4.

[84] Op. cit p. 98.

[85] "Still it has to be remembered that Vāsudeva's authorship of the Nalodaya can be accepted only tentatively, as it does not stand on any decisive evidence", **The Contribution ...,** p. 23.

4. In **Nalodaya** 2,14 occurs the rare word 'rahaṇa' ('sorrow'). The references for this word given by MW and APTE are only to **Naloḍaya.** But it is found also in **Śaurikathodaya** 5,48 (cf. note to the translation).

THE SOURCES OF THE ŚAURIKATHODAYA

Unlike most kāvya poets, who selected a short episode from one of the accepted traditional texts and wove around it lengthy descriptions abounding in rhetorical devices, Vāsudeva has drawn upon several sources (primarily the **Harivaṃśa**) for his **Śaurikathodaya** and moulded them into a unified whole.

Harivaṃśa

The basic source of the **Śaurikathodaya** is the **Harivaṃśa.** That is an interesting and rather surprising fact. Vāsudeva was a South Indian and at his time the Bhakti movement had been for some hundreds of years a very strong force in the religious life of South India. The **Bhāgavatapurāṇa,** the basic scripture of the Bhakti movement, was most probably also composed around this time though the Bhakti sentiment is hardly noticeable in the **Śaurikathodaya.**[86] We do not know if Vāsudeva's motives for deviating from the Purāṇic Kṛṣṇa traditions were religious. He could have had Śaivite tendencies.[87]

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[86] "Historische, philosophische, religionsgeschichtliche und mythologische Gründe sprechen für eine Konzeption des Bh P in der Mitte des 8. Jh.s." A. GAIL, **Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāṇa,** Münchener indologische Studien, 6, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 16.

[87] AUFRECHT ascribes the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** to a "Vāsudeva Paramaśivayogin", op. cit. p. 476. His patron Kulaśekhara might have been a Śaivite; see p. 9 n. 42. From the deities invoked in the introductory verses of Vāsudeva's poems we do not get a definite clue about his religious standpoint. Śiva is saluted in two of them and Kṛṣṇa in the other two (if we accept the **Nalodaya** as a genuine work of Vāsudeva). That Śiva and Kṛṣṇa are invoked in the **Tripuradahana** and in the **Śaurikathodaya** respectively, is a natural matter of course as they are the main characters of these poems. Likewise, the fact that Śiva is the 'iṣṭadevatā' of the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** and Kṛṣṇa that of the **Nalodaya** agrees well with the austere and heroic character of the former poem and the tender and erotic tone of the latter.

Judging from the nature of the sources of his other works, Vāsudeva's religious views seem to be of a rather orthodox type. The **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya**, the **Tripuradahana**, and also the **Nalodaya**, are all based on the **Mahābhārata**. Vāsudeva appears as a person with no specific religious profile and rather uninfluenced by the new religious movements of his days.[88] The ulterior motive for selecting the **Harivaṃśa** as a source of inspiration for his **Śaurikathodaya** was, I think, that Vāsudeva needed an effective story for his poem. The stories in his works are usually told in a simple and straightforward way, in spite of the restrictions of the yamaka style. The Kṛṣṇa tradition reflected in the **Harivaṃśa**, which is far removed from the theistic mysticism of the **Bhāgavatapurāṇa**,[89] offered such a story. Therefore, in the **Śaurikathodaya** the majestic and the heroic ('vīrarasa') dominate at the expense of the mystic and the erotic ('śṛṅgārarasa').[90]

The events of the major part of the **Śaurikathodaya** are found in the Viṣṇuparvan of the **Harivaṃśa**, the central portion of that work. The first three cantos of the **Śaurikathodaya** depict the first period of Kṛṣṇa's life (up to the killing of Kaṃsa). They contain all the well-known stories of Kṛṣṇa's childhood which were later elaborated upon in ch. 5 of the **Viṣṇupurāṇa** and ch. 10 of the **Bhāgavatapurāṇa**. However, as the material in these cantos is mostly common to the **Harivaṃśa** and the **Purāṇas** it is difficult to state with certainty Vāsudeva's exact origin of source of each episode. Furthermore Vāsudeva has availed himself of some other traditions (see below).

Cantos four and five contain some material from the Viṣṇuparvan but the greater part of these are based on the Bhaviṣyaparvan. In canto six Vāsudeva returns to the Kṛṣṇa epic and like the Viṣṇuparvan, the **Śaurikathodaya** ends with the episode of Bāṇāsura.

A striking contrast between the Purāṇic tradition on one hand and the **Harivaṃśa** and the **Śaurikathodaya** on the other can be seen in their descriptions of the autumn season (**Harivaṃśa**, Viṣṇup. 16; **Śaurikathodaya** 2,39 and 47; **Viṣṇupurāṇa** 5,10,1–15; **Bhāgavatapurāṇa** 10,20,31–49). While in the **Purāṇas** nature is seen in a mystical perspective and the splendour of the autumn gives the poet an opportunity to elaborate on moral and theological issues, the autumnal beauty in the **Harivaṃśa** and the **Śaurikathodaya** is depicted for its own sake. A detail might be pointed out: in the Purāṇic descriptions, no birds are mentioned while in the **Harivaṃśa** references are made to 'haṃsas' and 'sārasas'.[91] The same birds are also mentioned in the **Śaurikathodaya.**[92]

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[88] In the **Śaurikathodaya** Kṛṣṇa is always a form of Viṣṇu and in the 'daśāvatāra' (5,45–49), Kṛṣṇa is only the orthodox 'avatāra' of Viṣṇu and not the Supreme Spirit.

[89] Concerning the realism and literary merits of the **Harivaṃśa**, see D. H. H. INGALLS, **The Harivaṃśa as a Mahākāvya**, Melanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou, Paris 1968, pp. 381-94.

[90] Well-known episodes such as the stealing of the cowgirls' clothes by Kṛṣṇa and the rāsa-dance are conspicuous by their absence.

The material for canto four is derived exclusively from the **Harivaṃśa.** After the introductory verses (**Śaurikathodaya** 4,1–8) about Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadra receiving instructions from Sāndīpani and the rescuing of Sāndīpani's son, vv. 9–43 relate Kṛṣṇa's dealings with Jarāsandha and Kālayavana. These episodes occupy but a small place in the **Viṣṇupurāṇa** (5,22) and the **Bhāgavatapurāṇa** (10,50–51). In the **Harivaṃśa,** however, they cover many chapters of the Viṣṇuparvan (chs. 34–57). Some of the detailed descriptions of these episodes found in the **Śaurikathodaya** occur only in the **Harivaṃśa** (e.g. the burning of the Gomanta mountain vv. 14–17 and the killing of Vāsudeva Sṛgāla v. 27). The source of the story of the two brothers Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka (vv. 44–73) is not the Viṣṇuparvan but the Bhaviṣyaparvan (chs. 104–129). The rivalry between Viṣṇu worshippers and Śiva worshippers is noteworthy.

Canto five is also on the whole based on the **Harivaṃśa.** Vv. 1–17 relate the abduction of Rukmiṇī, Viṣṇuparvan 59–60, while vv. 18–30 are concerned with the story of the jewel Syamantaka, which is found in the Harivaṃśaparvan, chs. 38–39. Almost all the rest of the canto, vv. 37–73, describes Kṛṣṇa's visit to Śiva in the Himālayas in order to get a son. This episode is not found in the Purāṇic literature. Its source is the Bhaviṣyaparvan, chs. 73–90. It reflects the religious outlook of the **Harivaṃśa,** in which, though Viṣṇuite, Śiva plays an important rôle. The following episode concerning Pradyumna, Kṛṣṇa's son (vv. 74–80), corresponds to **Harivaṃśa,** Viṣṇup. chs. 104–108, though it also contains a feature exclusive to the Purāṇic tradition (see below).

The first part of canto six, vv. 1–19 (the killing of Naraka), does not seem to have the **Harivaṃśa** as its only source (see below). The rest of the canto dealing with the carrying off of the Parijāta tree and the Bāṇāsura episode, however, follows the main, the **Harivaṃśa** (Viṣṇuparvan 64–71 and 116–124). (See further the notes of the translation concerning similarities between the **Harivaṃśa** and the **Śaurikathodaya.**)

The Purāṇas

There are certain features in the **Śaurikathodaya** which are not found in the **Harivaṃśa** and where Vāsudeva clearly follows Purāṇic traditions, probably the one of the **Viṣṇupurāṇa.**[93] Some examples are:

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[91] e.g. Viṣṇuparvan 16,26b: haṃsasārasavinyāsair yamunā bhāti śobhanā ||

[92] pathikanudaṃ prekṣyartuṃ sanadīprasaroruhaṃsasārasarasitam | 2,44a.

1. In the **Śaurikathodaya** as in the Purāṇic traditions, Devakī is said to be Kaṃsa's sister while in the **Harivaṃśa** she is his aunt.[94]

2. In the **Harivaṃśa** Pūtanā is said to be a bird[95] while in the **Purāṇas** as well as in the **Śaurikathodaya**[96] she has lost her birdlike form.[97]

3. The Pūtanā episode precedes the incident of Śakaṭa in the **Purāṇas** and in the **Śaurikathodaya** (1,17–18 and 20–21). In the **Harivaṃśa** the order is the reversed one.

4. In the story of Pradyumna it is told that he was thrown into the ocean by Śambara.[98] This is the version of the **Viṣṇupurāṇa.** In the **Harivaṃśa** it is said that Śambara brought Pradyumna straight to his own town.[99]

Mahābhārata

With regard to two episodes in the **Śaurikathodaya** it seems as if Vāsudeva has preferred the version of the **Mahābhārata** to that of the **Harivaṃśa.**

1. The first concerns the story of Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka (4,44–73). As mentioned earlier that episode is of considerable length in the **Harivaṃśa.** In the **Mahābhārata,** Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka are just mentioned a few times and in the Sabhāparvan (13,39–42) their deaths are briefly referred to. However, regarding their deaths the **Harivaṃśa** and the **Mahābhārata** differ considerably. The **Harivaṃśa** version says that:

a) Haṃsa, pursued by Kṛṣṇa, falls into the Yamunā.

b) Kṛṣṇa follows him and, according to the **Harivaṃśa,** there are two opinions regarding the way he died. Some say that he was killed by Kṛṣṇa in the water and others say that he was devoured by snakes.

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[93] According to W. RUBEN the **Brahmapurāṇa** is the archetype of the **Viṣṇupurāṇa.** See **The Kṛṣṇacarita in the Harivaṃśa and certain Purāṇas,** JAOS, Vol. 61, pp. 115–27.

[94] See D. H. H. INGALLS, op. cit. p. 382.

[95] pūtanā nāma śakunī ghorā prāṇābhayaṃkarī | Viṣṇuparvan 6,23a. Cf. also D. H. H. INGALLS, op. cit. p. 384.

[96] nārī nānāmāyā trāsakarī jagati pūtanānāmāyāt | 1,17b.

[97] In the **Mahābhārata** Pūtanā is a bird as well as a 'rākṣasī':
'yady anena hatā bālye śakuniś citram atra kim' | Sabhāparvan 38,7a;
'pūtanāṃ rākṣasīṃ prāhus tāṃ vidyāt pūtanāgraham' || Āraṇyakaparvan 219,26b.

[98] yam udadhitoyasyāntaś cikṣepa sa eva hi śruto yasyāntas || 5,75b.

[99] dorbhyām utkṣipya nagaraṃ svaṃ nināya mahāsuraḥ || Viṣṇuparvan 104,5b.

c) Ḍibhaka grieving his brother's death, commits suicide in the Yamunā.

The **Mahābhārata** version says that:

a) In the battle between the two brothers and Kṛṣṇa, somebody tells the lie that Haṃsa has been killed.[100]

b) Ḍibhaka then unable to bear the loss of his brother drowns himself in the Yamunā.

c) Hearing that, Haṃsa also takes his life at the same place.

The **Śaurikathodaya** closely follows the **Mahābhārata** but omits that another Haṃsa had been killed and makes Kṛṣṇa tell the lie. The table on p. 29 illustrates the relationship between the three versions.

2. In the Naraka episode the reason for Kṛṣṇa's fight with him is said to be that Naraka had stolen Aditi's ear-rings.[101] This is the version of the **Mahābhārata.**[102] In the **Harivaṃśa** it is stated that Naraka in the form of an elephant carried off Kaśeru, the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ.[103]

Other sources

It is a most interesting fact that some features and episodes in the **Śaurikathodaya** are non-existent both in the **Harivaṃśa** and in the older **Purāṇas.** On the other hand they are found in certain other works outside the orthodox Hindu tradition. Thus there are some conspicuous similarities between the **Śaurikathodaya** and the **Bālacarita** of "Bhāsa". As is well-known, the **Bālacarita,** and other plays that have been found in Trivandrum, are probably not the original works of the author — whoever he might have been — but later adaptations for the Kerala stage.

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[100] Another Haṃsa, a king, had been killed. In the Vulgate (Sabhāparvan 14, 40–44, Gita Press ed.) it is also said that is was Balarāma who had accomplished his death:

atha haṃsa iti khyātaḥ kaścid āsin mahān nṛpaḥ |
rāmeṇa sa hatas tatra saṃgrāme 'ṣṭadaśāvare ||

[101] divi durjananītena dyusadāṃ hṛtakuṇḍalā ca jananī tena || **Śaurikathodaya,** 6,6b.

[102] mahābalo narakas tatra bhaumo jahārādityā maṇikuṇḍale śubhe || Udyogaparvan 47,74b.

[103] tvaṣṭur duhitaraṃ bhaumaḥ kaśerum āgamat tadā |
gajarūpeṇa jagrāha rucirāṃgīṃ caturdaśīm || Viṣṇuparvan 63,7.

HARIVAṂŚA

Bhaviṣyaparvan 128, 4a 5b-8; 129, 10b-13a

tasmin hrade mahāghore papātātha sa haṃsakaḥ|
rathād utplutya kṛṣṇo 'pi tasyopari papāta ha||
devadevo jagannātho jagad vismāpayann iva|
prāharat taṃ mahābāhuḥ pādābhyām atha keśavaḥ||
pādakṣepān nṛpas tasmāl labdhvā haṃso nṛpottama|
mamāra ca nṛpaśreṣṭha kecid evaṃ vadanti hi||
anye patalam ayato bhakṣitaḥ pannagair iti|
adyāpi naiva rājendra dṛṣṭa ity anuśuśrūma||
vilapyaivaṃ nṛpaśreṣṭha ḍibhako bhrātṛvatsalaḥ||
ātmatyāge manaḥ kurvan yamunāyā mahāhrade|
nimajyonmajya sahasā maraṇe kṛtaniścayaḥ||
hastena jihyām ākṛṣya bhūyo bhūyo vilapya ca|
tataḥ samūlam ākṛṣya jihvāṃ sāhasakṛt svayam||
mamārāntarjale rājan ḍibhako narakāya vai|

MAHĀBHĀRATA

Sabhāparvan 13, 39-42

atha haṃsa iti khyātaḥ kaścid āsīn mahān nṛpaḥ|
sa cānyaiḥ sahito rājan saṃgrāme aṣṭadaśāvaraiḥ||
hato haṃsa iti proktam atha kenāpi bhārata|
tac chrutvā ḍibhako rājan yamunāmbhasy amajjata ||
vinā haṃsena loke 'smin nāhaṃ jīvitum utsahe|
ity etāṃ matim āsthāya ḍibhako nidhanaṃ gataḥ||
tatha tu ḍibhakaṃ śrutvā haṃsaḥ parapuraṃjayaḥ|
prāpede yamunām eva so 'pi tasyāṃ nyamajjata||

ŚAURIKATHODAYA

4, 71-73

tatra vivekenāpi prabhus tato vitatham āhave kenāpi|
ujjhitadehaṃ santaṃ śrāvitavān ḍibhakam āpade haṃsaṃ tam||
snigdhatamo hīnāśaṃ ḍibhakaḥ śrutvāgrajasya mohī nāśam|
śritayamunodakarājiḥ svatanuṃ tatyāja śatrunodakarājiḥ||
kṛtakalahaṃ senāpi projjhya balaṃ tan niśamya haṃsenāpi|
pṛthuyamunāvāryantaḥ praviśya tatraiva pāpināvāry antaḥ||

Concerning the **Bālacarita** M. WINTERNITZ long ago pointed out: "Dennoch wird man annehmen müssen, dass der Dichter ("Bhāsa") nicht derselben Quelle folgte, aus der die Darstellungen in Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇupurāṇa und Bhāgavatapurāṇa geflossen sind."[104] Though Vāsudeva might not have been influenced directly by the **Bālacarita** he might have used some source or sources common to him and the author of the **Bālacarita.** Thus WINTERNITZ's conclusion that "Bhāsa" probably has relied more upon oral traditions than on literary ones[105] might in some cases be true also of Vāsudeva.

These common features of the **Bālacarita** and the **Śaurikathodaya** agree also with certain Jaina traditions. Though the Jainas are not unanimous concerning their Kṛṣṇa traditions, still these traditions share certain characteristics which set them apart from the corresponding Hindu ones.

L. ALSDORF has made an edition, a translation, and a study, of one such Jaina work dealing with the life of Kṛṣṇa. It is entitled **Harivaṃśapurāṇa**[106] and was written in Apabhraṃśa by a certain Puṣpadanta during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Though it was composed between 949 and 71,[107] the material it contains is of great antiquity.[108]

I will compare below some features of the **Śaurikathodaya,** the **Bālacarita,** and the **Harivaṃśapurāṇa,** with the **Harivaṃśa** and the Purāṇas.

1. In the **Harivaṃśa** and in the earlier **Purāṇas** Devakī gives birth to eight sons while in the **Śaurikathodaya,**[109] the **Bālacarita,**[110] and the **Harivaṃśapurāṇa,**[111] she begets seven.

2. As Devakī's first six sons were killed, Balarāma is not considered to have been transferred from Devakī to Rohiṇī but is regarded as Rohiṇī's genuine son in the tradition followed by the **Śaurikathodaya,** the **Bālacarita,** and the **Harivaṃśapurāṇa.**[112]

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[104] **Kṛṣṇa-Dramen,** ZDMG, Bd 74, p. 136.

[105] "So scheint es, dass Bhasa mehr den volkstümlichen Überlieferungen, als irgendwelchen heiligen Texten folgte." loc. cit.

[106] **Harivaṃśapurāṇa. Ein Abschnitt aus der Apabhraṃśa – Welthistorie "Mahāpurāṇa Tisaṭṭhimahāpurisaguṇālaṃkāra" von Puṣpadanta,** Hrsg. von LUDWIG ALSDORF, Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 5, Hamburg 1936.

[107] Op. cit. p. 3.

[108] Relying upon JACOBI, ALSDORF believes that the nucleus of the Jaina Kṛṣṇa traditions dates back to some centuries BC; see op. cit. p. 51.

[109] 1,8.

[110] agaṇitaparikhedā yāti ṣaṇṇāṃ sutānām
apacayagamanārthaṃ saptamaṃ rakṣamāṇā | Act. 1,10a.

[111] sattamu suu hōsai Vāsuēu |
jarasandhahŏ kaṃsahŏ dhūmakēu || 84,16,4.

[112] See ALSDORF, op. cit. pp. 49-51.

3. In the tradition represented by the **Harivaṃśa**[113] and the **Purāṇas**[114] the 'śakaṭa' is an ordinary inanimate cart, which is pushed away by Kṛṣṇa. In the **Śaurikathodaya** and in the **Bālacarita**, however, 'śakaṭa' refers to a demon who had assumed a cart-like form and was killed by Kṛṣṇa.[115] In the **Harivaṃśapurāṇa**[116] the cart appears as an evil goddess.[117]

4. The sequence of the episodes of the first three cantos of the **Śaurikathodaya** is on the whole in agreement with the **Harivaṃśa** and the **Purāṇas**. However, while the incidents of the 'asuras' Ariṣṭa and Keśin come after the holding up of the Govardhana mountain in the **Harivaṃśa** and the **Purāṇas**, they precede this event in the **Śaurikathodaya**.[118] This is the same order found in the **Harivaṃśapurāṇa**.[119]

5. The incident of Kṛṣṇa's stealing the butter is alluded to in **Śaurikathodaya** 1,33a.[120] But this episode is not found in the **Hari-**

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[113] Viṣṇuparvan 5.

[114] e.g. **Viṣṇupurāṇa**, 5,6,1-7.

[115] **Śaurikathodaya** 1,20-22;

tado māṣamatte ṇandagovavutte ṣaaḍo ṇāma
dāṇavo ṣaaḍaveṣam ganhia aado — **Bālacarita**, Act. 3,7.

[116] tahiṃ avasaraē kīlā-ṇiraē
kaya-jaṇa-rāhē Pankayaṇāhē
riuṇā siṭṭhā dēvī duṭṭhā
avarā ghōrā sayaḍāyārā
pattā gōṭṭhaṃ Gōvai-iṭṭhaṃ. — 85,10,9-13.

[117] The view that 'śakaṭa' refers to a demon, male or female, seems to be a particular South Indian one. In an early work from South India on hand-gestures, the **Abhinayadarpaṇam** of Nandikeśvara, ed. by M. GHOSH, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1957, it is stated that the gesture signifying a 'rākṣasī' is called 'śakaṭa':

bhramare madhyamāṅguṣṭhaprasārāc chakaṭo bhavet ||
rākṣasābhinaye prāyaḥ śakaṭo viniyujyate | — 189b-190a.

One verse in the **Śiśupālavadha** (15,37) has sometimes (e.g. by MW and APTE) been interpreted as containing a reference to the demon 'asura'. As Māgha was a native of Gujarāt this would then be an early example of a North Indian 'śakaṭa'-demon tradition. The verse says:

śakaṭavyudāsatarubhaṅghadaraṇidharadhāraṇādikam |
karma yad ayam akarot taralaḥ sthiracetasāṃ ka iva tena vismayaḥ ||

Nothing in the text forces us to interpret 'śakaṭa' as referring to a demon. Mallinātha glosses 'śakaṭavyudāsa' with 'śakaṭāsuramardana' but, as is well-known, Mallinātha was a South Indian. Besides, the usual meaning of 'vyudāsa' is 'throwing away'. In late Sanskrit texts, e.g. the **Nāradapañcarātra**, and in the Hindī work **Premsāgar** 'śakaṭa' refers to a demon; see WINTERNITZ, **Kṛṣṇa-Dramen**, p. 130 n. 3.

[118] 2,25-26; 2,27-37 and 3,11 respectively.

[119] See 85,11,12 and 16.

[120] yo navanītastenaḥ strīsaṅghaḥ kopam āśu nītas tena |

vaṃśa or in the earlier **Purāṇas.** It appears in the **Bhāgavatapurāṇa** (10,9). That the incident is much older, however, is evident from the fact that it occurs in the **Bālacarita** and in the **Harivaṃśapurāṇa.**[121]

The South Indian tradition of Nīlā and the seven bulls

There remains one episode in the **Śaurikathodaya** not to be found in any of the sources discussed above. In ch. 2 (vv. 17–24) it is related how seven 'asuras' in the form of bulls devastate the garden of a certain Kumbhaka who is the leader of the cowherds. He promises the daughter Nīlā's hand in marriage to the person who can free him from the bulls. The cowherds who attempt to do so are all torn into pieces and the bulls are not stopped until Kṛṣṇa kills them. Then Nīlā becomes his wife.

Some publications appearing during the past fifteen years have demonstrated that this episode in the **Śaurikathodaya** is but an example of a tradition which is exclusive to South India, having ramifications in Sanskrit texts or recensions of a South Indian provenience, Tamil literature and oral tradition as well. These studies have revealed that two originally independent motifs can be distinguished which later became associated with each other: the pastoral bull-fight motif and the Vaiṣṇava motif of a cowherd girl who marries Kṛṣṇa, where Nīlā has a Tamilian counterpart in PiNNai or NappiNNai. Several aspects of this complex tradition have been related by different scholars: on the basis of a select number of texts and ethnographic material the interrelationship of the Sanskrit and Tamil traditions is examined by Erik af Edholm and the present author;[122] JEAN FILLIOZAT briefly discusses the theme of Nīlā/NappiNNai in his introduction to the Tamil devotional poem Tiruppāvai;[123] the figure and position of PiNNai in the sacred writings of the 'āḻvārs' and the theological development of Nīlā/PiNNai in medieval commentarial literature are analysed by DENNIS HUDSON;[124] in his voluminous work[125] FRIEDHELM HARDY probes into the entire field of Kṛṣṇa traditions in South India utilizing a large number of texts among which he attaches a fundamental importance to Bhāsa's play **Bālacarita.**

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[121] tado māṣaparivutte ṇandagovavutte
ekaṣṣiṃ gehe gacchia khīraṃ pibai
aṇṇaṣṣiṃ gehe gacchia dadhiṃ bhakkhai
ekaṣṣiṃ gehe gacchia ṇavaṇīdaṃ giladi
aṇṇaṣṣiṃ gehe gacchia pāasaṃ bhuñjai
aparaṣṣiṃ gehe gacchia takkaghaṭaṃ paloadi

Bālacarita, Act. 3,7.

manthau dhariu bhamantu Aṇanteṃ
mandīraũ tōḍěvi āvaṭṭiu
addha-virōliu dahiu paloṭṭiu

Harivaṃśapurāṇa, 85,6,2b-3.

[122] **The Seven Bulls and Kṛṣṇa's Marriage to Nīlā/NappiNNai in Sanskrit and Tamil Literature,** Temenos Vol. 8 (1972), pp. 29-53.

The bull-fight motif is rooted in the pastoral milieu of the 'āyar' and their bull-baiting festivals, where young men try to master bulls in order to win the hand of a girl in marriage. A vivid description of such a festival is given in **Kalittokai,** ch. 103.[126] This theme recurs in a much elaborated form in the somewhat later Tamil epic poem **Cilappatikāram,** but within a distinct Kṛṣṇaite framework. There, in the Āycciyarkuravai, it is described how seven girls select seven bulls, which prospective suitors are expected to bring under control. As a sequel to this event, in dancing and with mimical representation the girls enact the parts of Kṛṣṇa, his beloved NapiNNai, and his brother Balarāma.[127] In the voluminous canonical scriptures of the 'āḻvārs', **Nālāyirativyaprapantam,** there are several references to PiNNai and the seven bulls, both independently and in association. In certain passages PiNNai has attained the status of a goddess and is regarded together with Śrī and Bhū as one of Viṣṇu's three consorts. Later commentaries bear ample witness to the ever increasing subtlety in the theological speculation about Nīlā/NappiNNai and particularly in the Pāñcarātra system Nīlā has risen to a very prominent position.[128]

In South Indian Sanskrit literature the name of NappiNNai has been replaced by that of Nīlā. The simple association of PiNNai with the seven bulls in Tamil literature has developed into an extended narrative in the Sanskrit texts, where Nīlā becomes the bride of Kṛṣṇa subsequent to his conquest of seven demoniac bulls. Besides the **Śaurikathodaya,** the Southern recension of the **Harivaṃśa**[129] and Vedānta Deśikar's **Yādavābhyudaya** include this episode. In the Sanskrit versions of the story further persons are introduced, the cowherd Nanda and his brother-in-law Kumbhaka,[130] who is the father of Nīlā. The marriage of Nīlā to Kṛṣṇa, a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, may thus be considered as an ideal expression of the traditional Dravidian matrimonial code.[131] Obviously the **Harivaṃśa** provided the source for Vāsudeva in respect of the Nīlā episode. The **Harivaṃśa**'s version of the story is lengthy, including much descriptive and laudatory material, while the account found in the **Śaurikathodaya** is brief and told in Vāsudeva's characteristically forthright manner. In the **Śaurikathodaya** the bull event constitutes just one in a series of many similar ones, where demons are slain by Kṛṣṇa. The **Harivaṃśa** on the other hand offers an explanation for the arrival of the bull-demons to Kumbhaka's garden, the motive of revenge. It is told that earlier in the primordial struggle between the gods and the demons these seven 'asuras', the sons of Kālanemi, had been vanquished by Viṣṇu:

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[123] **Un texte tamoul de dévotion vishnouite: le Tiruppāvai d'Āṇṭāḷ,** Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie No. 45, Pondicherry 1972, pp. 15-20.

[124] **Piṉṉai, Krishna's Cowherd Wife,** The Divine Consort. Rādhā and the goddesses of India, ed. by J. STRATTON HAWLEY and D. MARIE WULFF, Berkeley 1982, pp. 238-61.

[125] **Viraha-bhakti. The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India,** Delhi 1983.

[126] For somewhat different interpretations of the bull-fight in the **Kalittokai,** see af EDHOLM — SUNESON, op. cit. pp. 45-46; HARDY, op. cit. pp. 185-89 and Appendix p. viii.

[127] For a discussion and different points of view concerning this scene, see af EDHOLM—SUNESON, op. cit. pp. 40-45; HARDY, op. cit. p. 172-78.

[128] HUDSON, op. cit. pp. 243-54.

> etasminn eva kāle tu vṛṣarūpā mahāsurāḥ |
> kālanemisutāḥ sapta vikrāntā bāhuśālinaḥ |
> tadā devāsure yuddhe viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā |
> saṃgrāmān bahuśaḥ kṛtvā tena yuddhe jitās tadā |
> (28–31)

An interesting parallel version of the theme is met with in the **Bhāgavatapurāṇa** 10,58,32–55. Here the setting of the story is quite different and the names and figures of Kumbhaka and Nīlā have been replaced by those of king Nagnajit of Kosala and his daughter Satyā Nāgnajitī.[132] The occurence of an interesting hybrid version is to be found in a Sanskrit source not referred to in earlier contributions to the subject, an additional kāṇḍa of South Indian origin in the **Garuḍapurāṇa.** In addition to the two usual kāṇḍas a third, **Brahma-** or **Mokṣakāṇḍa,** has been included, where the Nīlā episode occupies ch. 19 in the Venkaṭeśvara edition.[133] Here Nīlā has become integrated into a complex mythological network. In a past creation she was the daughter of Agni and started to meditate on Viṣṇu with the aim of securing him for a husband. Finally complying with her desire Viṣṇu declares that in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa she will become his wife. Nīlā herself was born twice on earth, first as a daughter of Kumbhaka, then as a daughter of Nagnajit. Both times she is married to Kṛṣṇa, the second time after he has defeated seven bulls.

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[129] The existence of this episode was first brought to attention by Govindācārya Svāmin in his article **A Lacuna in the Harivaṃśa,** The Indian Antiquary, Vol. 40, pp. 58-61. In the critical edition of the Harivaṃśa it has been relegated to Appendix 12 in Vol. 2, see **The Harivaṃśa. Being the Khila or Supplement to the Mahābhārata.** For the first time critically edited by P. L. VAIDYA, Vol. 2 (Appendices), Poona 1971, pp. 54-62.

[130] For a possible association of Kumbhaka with Kumbhadatta in the **Bālacarita,** see HUDSON, op. cit. p. 258.

[131] On this point see FILLIOZAT, op. cit. p. xviii; HUDSON, op. cit. pp. 241-42.

[132] For an analysis, see af EDHOLM — SUNESON, op. cit. pp. 34-36; HARDY, op. cit. pp. 638-40. In a vague reference (op. cit. p. xviii) J. FILLIOZAT suggests the possibility of a further variant of the story in the Apitānacintāmaṇi, where the Nīlā/Kumbhaka version has become confused with that of Satyā/Nagnajit. Here Kumbhaka appears as a cowherd of king Nagnajit, Satyā's father.

At a later time this originally South Indian tradition found its way also to North India, where an example is afforded by the Sanskrit play **Lalitamādhava** by Rūpa Gosvāmin in a 'bhakti' context.[134] The bull motif is also hinted at in a 'kavitta' verse in a popular Braj/Hindī 'kṛṣṇalīlā' entitled **Mahārāslīlā.**[135]

The exact nature of the relationship between Nīlā/NappiNNai on the one hand and Rādhā on the other poses a great problem, but strong reservations must be voiced against considering the former one a prototype of the latter.[136]

Finally the intricate question might be raised concerning the ultimate origin of the figure of Nīlā/NappiNNai. Two radically different answers have been proposed. According to the first one, her origin is in all likelihood to be sought within the sphere of Dravidian folk religon.[137] In contrast to this view, Hudson,[138] tentatively, and Hardy,[139] more categorically, relying upon different pieces of indirect evidence which connect Kṛṣṇa with Durgā, regard Kṛṣṇa's cowherd wife as a manifestation of that North Indian goddess.

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[133] Unfortunately, the Sanskrit original has remained inaccessible to me. Reference is made to **Garuḍapurāṇa,** Part III, Ancient Indian Tradition & Mythology, Vol. 14, ed. by J. L. SHASTRI, Delhi 1980.

[134] See af EDHOLM — SUNESON, op. cit. p. 36.

[135] See J. STRATTON HAWLEY, **At Play with Krishna. Pilgrimage Dramas from Brindavan,** Princeton 1981, p. 220.

[136] An attempt in this direction is made by CHARLOTTE VAUDEVILLE in her article **Evolution of Love-Symbolism in Bhāgavatism,** JAOS, Vol. 82 (1962), p. 38, but the author gives no textual references.

[137] af EDHOLM — SUNESON, op. cit. p. 53.

[138] Op. cit. p. 261.

[139] Op. cit. pp. 221-25.

SUMMARY OF THE POEM

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Indra's departure	15 – 17.
Nārada warns Kaṃsa about Kṛṣṇa	18 – 21.
Kaṃsa gives orders about the bow festival	22 – 25.
Akrūra departs to fetch Kṛṣṇa	26 – 32.
Akrūra is received by Kṛṣṇa	33 – 35.
Kṛṣṇa takes leave of the cowherd girls and departs for Mathurā	36 – 44.
Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and Akrūra, come to the Yamunā	45 – 48.
Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and Akrūra, arrive to Mathurā	49 – 51.
Description of the arena	52 – 53.
Kṛṣṇa kills a washerman and Kaṃsa's elephant	54 – 57.
Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma slay Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika	58 – 59.
The death of Kaṃsa	60 – 62.
Conclusion	63 – 64.

Canto Four

Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma receive instruction from Sāndīpani	1 – 3.
Kṛṣṇa rescues and brings back Sāndīpani's son from Yama's abode	4 – 9.
Jarāsandha together with his army attacks and pursues Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma	10 – 13.
Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma come to the Gomanta mountain which is burnt down by Jarāsandha's army	14 – 17.
Jarāsandha is defeated by Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma	18 – 24.
On Śiśupāla's advise Kṛṣṇa attacks and defeats Vāsudeva Sṛgāla	25 – 28.
Kālayavana advances towards the Yadus	29 – 30.
Kṛṣṇa sends a snake in a pot to Kālayavana	31 – 32.
Kṛṣṇa brings the Yadus to Dvārakā	33 – 36.
Kālayavana pursues Kṛṣṇa and is killed by Mucukunda in the cave	37 – 41.
Mucukunda departs and Kṛṣṇa returns to Dvārakā	42 – 43.
The birth of Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka	44 – 47.
The childhood of Haṃsa, Ḍibhaka, and Janārdana, and their arrival at the Puṣkara lake	48 – 50.
Hamṣa sees Durvāsas and slanders him	51 – 54.
The ascetics complain to Kṛṣṇa	55 – 56.
Haṃsa sends Janārdana with a message to Kṛṣṇa	57 – 60.
Janārdana meditates on Kṛṣṇa and is received by him in Dvārakā	61 – 65.
Sātyaki is sent to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa's battle with Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka	66 – 70.
Ḍibhaka and Haṃsa commit suicide in the Yamunā and Kṛṣṇa returns to Dvārakā	71 – 74.

Description of Dvārakā	75 – 79.
Conclusion	80.

Canto Five

Love arises between Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa	1 – 5.
At Jarāsandha's request, Rukmin promises Rukmiṇī as the wife of Śiśupāla	6 – 9.
At Rukmiṇī's wedding with Śiśupāla she is abducted by Kṛṣṇa	10 – 12.
Battle between the king's armies and Kṛṣṇa and his people in which Rukmin is defeated	13 – 17.
Satrājit gets the Syamantaka jewel from the sun, gives it to Prasena who is killed by a lion which in its turn is killed by Jāmbavat	18 – 22.
Being urged by the Yadus to look for Prasena, Kṛṣṇa enters Jāmbavat's cave and defeats him	23 – 27.
Kṛṣṇa gets Jāmbavatī as his wife and returns the jewel to Satrājit who gives him Satyabhāmā	28 – 31.
Description of Satyabhāmā and Rukmiṇī	32 – 35.
Rukmiṇī asks Kṛṣṇa for a son	36 – 39.
Kṛṣṇa arrives at Badarī	40 – 42.
Kṛṣṇa is praised by Ghaṇṭhākarṇa in a 'daśāvatāra'	43 – 50.
Ghaṇṭhākarṇa asks for and obtains 'mukti' from Kṛṣṇa	51 – 59.
Kṛṣṇa meditates at the Kailāsa mountain and is approached by Śiva who promises him a son	60 – 65.
Śiva expounds the Supreme Truth to the 'ṛṣis'	66 – 69.
Kṛṣṇa returns to Dvārakā and kills Pauṇḍraka	70 – 73.
Pradyumna's abduction by Śambara and the latter's defeat. Pradyumna's wedding to Māyāvatī	74 – 80.
The birth of Aniruddha and Rukmin's death	81 – 82.
Balarāma drags the Yamunā and marries Revatī	83 – 84.
Conclusion	85.

Canto Six

Description of Bāṇa and Prāgjyotiṣa	1 – 3.
Bāṇa carries off several women to Prāgjyotiṣa	4 – 5.
Bāṇa deprives Aditi of her ear-rings and the latter sends Indra to Kṛṣṇa	6 – 7.
Kṛṣṇa goes to Prāgjyotiṣa in company with Balarāma and Satyabhāmā and kills Mura and his sons	8 – 12.
Kṛṣṇa engages in battle with Naraka and defeats him	13 – 17.
Kṛṣṇa carries off the ear-rings and Naraka's riches from Prāgjyotiṣa and returns the ear-rings to Aditi	18 – 21.

Requested by Satyabhāmā, Kṛṣṇa steals the 'kalpataru'	22 – 23.
The guards being frightened by Satyabhāmā when trying to stop Kṛṣṇa report to Śacī	24 – 27.
Exhorted by Śacī, Indra advances towards Kṛṣṇa with an army of gods	28 – 30.
Indra's army is defeated by Kṛṣṇa	31 – 32.
Kṛṣṇa and Indra, Garuḍa and Airāvata, engage in battle and Indra is finally vanquished	33 – 39.
Addressed by Satyabhāmā Indra praises her	40 – 43.
The association of Satyabhāmā, the earth, with the kings Priyavrata and Pṛthu	44 – 45.
The rescue of the earth by Viṣṇu in his boar and dwarf incarnations	46 – 48.
Indra concludes his praise	49 – 50.
The return of Kṛṣṇa	51 – 55.
The birth of Bāṇāsura	56 – 58.
The birth of Bāṇā's daughter Uṣā and her meeting with Umā	59 – 62.
Umā's promise and Uṣā's dream	63 – 65.
The meeting of Citralekhā with Uṣā	66 – 68.
Uṣā tells Citralekhā about her dream	69 – 71.
Uṣā points out Aniruddha in Citralekhā's drawings	72 – 73.
Aniruddha is brought to Uṣā by Citralekhā	74 – 75.
Bāṇa advances with an army towards Aniruddha and throws him and Uṣā into prison	76 – 79.
Requested by Bāṇa, Śiva promises him a battle	80 – 84.
Kṛṣṇa goes to the abode of Bāṇa	85 – 87.
Battle between Kṛṣṇa's army and Śiva's at the gate of Bāṇa's town	88 – 90.
Kṛṣṇa and Śiva engage in battle using different fevers as weapons. Śiva is defeated	91 – 98.
Kṛṣṇa cuts off Bāṇa's hands	99 – 100.
Śiva asks Kṛṣṇa to spare Bāṇa's life	101 – 103.
Aniruddha and Uṣā are released from prison and Bāṇa is given the lordship of the 'gaṇas'	104 – 105.
Conclusion	106 – 107.

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ABBREVIATION OF PERIODICALS

BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly
IIJ = Indo-Iranian Journal
JA = Journal asiatique
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZIT = Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Sanskrit Text

ŚAURIKATHODAYAḤ

[atha prathamāśvāsaḥ]

avanatadevaṃ dehaṃ puṃsaḥ paramasya sampade vande 'ham
yatpadam[1] ambudhyante yatayo yattatvam uttanaṃ (m) budhyante |1

gopatatiḥ pūtanayā yato yataḥ[2] prāpyata kṣatiḥ pūtanayā[3]
yo 'dhṛta dūrvābho 'gaṃ papuś ca gopyo dṛśā yadūrvābhogam[4] |2

yattanur añjananīlā yajjanane sampadām araṃ[5] jananīlā
kṛtarathasācivyas tān[6] yaś ca kurūn vyadhita savyasācivyastān |3

sadguṇamālaṃ[7] vyāsaṃ naumi ca vidyāḥ sthitā yam ālambyāsan[8]
yo bhṛśam astavyastā vedagiro[9] vyabhajad[10] āgamastavyas tāḥ[11] |4

yo 'jani[12] satyavatītaḥ kaluṣāl lokaṃ kalau ca saty avatītaḥ
kathayā bhāratyā gām[13] akṛta ca samprāptaduritabhāratyāgām[14] |5

jayati sudhāmā rāmaḥ[15] kṣitipālaḥ kāvyavīrudhām ārāmaḥ
dadhadibhamastakalīlām aṃsena bibharti yo 'yam[16] astakalīlām |6

asyāṃ me yamitāyāṃ śaurikathāyāṃ śubhaprameyamitāyām
karuṇāleśaṃ santaḥ kurvantu kaver balābale śaṃsantaḥ[17] |7

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1. yaṃ padam, T yaṃ padam, Nit. yatpadam. 2. yataḥ yataḥ.
3. The MS adds another superfluous 'yataḥ' at the end of the line.
4. Line b is the reading of Nit. The MS is incomplete: aḍaṃ papuś ca gopyaḥ dṛśā, T yodhitadūrvā bhogaṃ vapuś ca gopyo dṛśā yad ūrvābhogam.
5. T sampadāraṃ, Nit. sampadām araṃ. 6. tā, T tān, Nit. tān.
7. sadguṇamālāṃ, T sadguṇamālaṃ. 8. 'āsan' has been transferred from the beginning of line b. 9. astavyastāvedagiro. 10. T vibhajad, Nit. vyabhajad.
11. T āgamavyastāḥ, Nit. āgamastavyas tāḥ. 12. T yojani. 13. T bhāratyāgām.
14. T saṃprāptabhāratyāgām. 15. sudhāmārāmaḥ. 16. T yogam.
17. balābaleśaṃ santaḥ.

atha ṣaṭsu kumāreṣu bhrātrā vyāpāditeṣu sukumāreṣu
sutam ekaṃ sadveṣaṃ prāsūyata devakī sakaṃsadveṣam |8

apsaraso 'maravīṇām avādayan pathi samīrasomaravīṇām
api nanṛtur jananetragrāhiṇyo[18] jagadadhīśitur janane 'tra |9

khinnas tanujavadhair yas sa tu vasudevas sametya[19]
tanujavadhairyaḥ
putraṃ jātaṃ kāntaṃ jagrāha janārdanaṃ nijātaṅkāntam |10

sa yaśodāśayanam[20] itaṃ kṛtvā puruṣottamaṃ sadāśayanamitam
ānayad ānandasya pradāyinīṃ kanyakāṃ tadā nandasya[21] |11

atha vasudevāpatyaprasavaśravaṇena yugapad evāpatya
kṛtaparyaṅkanyāsā kaṃsenāgṛhyata[22] svayaṃ kanyā sā |12

tasyā nāśaṃ kaṃsaḥ kartuṃ tāṃ kṣiptavān anāśankaṃ saḥ[23]
divam evādhāvat sā vikruśyāryeti vigatabādhā vatsā |13

yas te hantā hantuḥ svasāsutān[24] tasya naiva hantāhaṃ tu[25]
hanmy adhunā bhojātas tvāṃ tvannidhanāya padmanābho jātaḥ |14

sā dyāṃ[26] cakrāmānyā[27] bhūtvā devī saśaṅkhacakrā mānyā
aśiṣan mānī kaṃsaḥ kṛṣṇaṃ ca nihantum uttamānīkaṃ saḥ[28] |15

kaṃsāmātyā nipuṇāḥ[29] pralambakeśyādayo nayālokeṣu[30]
ceruḥ saha pūtanayā pralambakeśyā dayonayā lokeṣu[31] |16

arbhakatanvānantaṃ devaṃ nidrāṃ kadāpi tanvānaṃ tam
nārī nānāmāyā[32] trāsakarī jagati pūtanānāmāyāt |17

tasyāḥ pāparatāyā dūrasthāyā hariḥ kṛpāparatāyāḥ
stanam apibat tāmasyāḥ prāṇāṃś ca vidhūya vīryavattām asyāḥ |18

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[18] janane 'tra grāhiṇyo. [19] vasudeva ssametya. [20] sayaśodāśayanam.
[21] tadānandasya. [22] kaṃsanāgṛhyata. [23] 'saḥ' has been transferred from the beginning of line b. [24] svasā satāṃ, Nit. svasāsutān.
[25] hantā hantu, Nit. hantāhaṃ tu. [26] sādyām. [27] cakrā mānyā.
[28] attamanī kaṃsaḥ. [29] kaṃsāmātyānipuṇāḥ. [30] nayā lokeṣu, Nit. nayālokeṣu.
[31] pralambakeśyādayo nayālokeṣu, Nit. pralambakeśyā dayonayā lokeṣu. [32] nānā māyā.

prītim ṛṣigaṇaḥ kṛṣṇe bandhurasaṃ[33] cāra pūtanānāśena
tenākrīḍi[34] ca ghoṣe bandhurasañcārapūtanānāśena |19

punar eva śayānaṃ taṃ mahāsuraḥ ko 'pi[35] kopavaśayānantam[36]
āgamad[37] anurudhyānaḥ kapaṭaṃ budhyātmasampadanurudhyānaḥ[38] |20

tac ca tadā raṇadakṣaṃ dānavaśakaṭaṃ śarīradāraṇadakṣam
bhinnam anunnamanena prabhuṇā caraṇāmbujena nunnam anena |21

gopajanānām anasi kṣuṇṇe sthitavati jane ca nānāmanasi
svamukhe[39] hastaṃ nyasya prabhur arudat pānasaspṛhaḥ stanyasya[40] |22

dṛṣṭvā vadanaṃ tasya sphuritaṃ sampūrṇacandravad anantasya
kundasamānaṃ dante nandapramukhā dadhus samānandaṃ te |23

arilokāntakarābhyāṃ tanujānubhyāṃ tathaiva kāntakarābhyām
ghṛṣṭaśubhājiraraṅgaḥ svāmī goṣṭhe[41] karīṣabhāji raraṅga |24

janapāpakṣālibhyāṃ cakṣurbhyāṃ capalakākapakṣālibhyām
prekṣaṇadātā vatsaḥ sarvamanojño 'bhavat sadā tāvat saḥ |25

dattayaśodāmā tu stanyaṃ[42] kṛṣṇaḥ piban[43] yaśodāmātuḥ
anucitasañcaraṇābhyāṃ kṣititalam apunān malīnasaṃ caraṇābhyām |26

sa vanoddeśakramaṇe reme yo dhāmni na bibhide śakramaṇeḥ
kalakiṅkiṇikā yasya śroṇī ca karīṣakaṣaṇakiṇikāyasya |27

bahuśaivāle[44] 'navane kāsārajale tathaiva bālena vane
asatām avasānena bhrāntaṃ nāthena vasanam avasānena |28

na syāt kiṃ kiṇi[45] kāntaṃ putra tadevaṃ padaṃ sakiṅkiṇikāntam
ity ambā dhāvantaṃ santatam[46] ācaṣṭa harim abādhāvantam |29

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[33] bandhurasaś. [34] tenā krīḍi.
[35] evaṃ śayānaṃ tam asuraḥ kopi, Nit. eva ... mahāsuraḥ. [36] kopavaśāyānantam.
[37] agamad. [38] budhyātmasampadanurudhyānā. [39] saṃmukhe, Nit. svamukhe.
[40] pānasaspṛhaḥ, Nit. pānasaspṛhaḥ stanasya. [41] ghṛṣṭaśubhājiraraṅgasvāmīgoṣṭhe.
[42] Nit. stanaṃ. [43] kiñcid, Nit. piban. [44] vahniśaivāle, Nit. bahuśaivāle.
[45] kiṅkiṇi. [46] Nit. santam.

muhur eva jananyāyaṃ ruddho 'pi dadhat sa śaiśavajananyāyam[47]
kṣitipāṃsuṣv āpādya svairaṃ krīdāṃ vaneṣu suṣvāpādyaḥ |30

satataṃ carataḥ khe 'laṃ[48] tatas tataḥ svāmino 'sya ca rataḥ khelam[49]
akṛta sa[50] tāpakṣatyā chāyāṃ patatām adhīśitā pakṣatyā[51] |31

acarad[52] anāhitarakṣo rucire 'sya gale nakho 'py anāhi tarakṣoḥ[53]
akṛta sa dadhitakrāntaṃ[54] vyākruṣṭo dikṣu tadvad adhita krāntam[55] |32

yo navanītastenaḥ strīsaṅghaḥ kopam āśu nītas[56] tena
prāpya yaśodāṃ tasya[57] nyavedayat karma paravaśo 'dāntasya[58] |33

udare vedāmnātaṃ tathaiva colūkhale nave dāmnā tam
sā [tu] tadā modaratā babandha tasmād dhi tasya dāmodaratā |34

tad ulūkhalam atyantasthūlaṃ kṛṣṇaś cakarṣa khalamatyantaḥ
ubhayor āsannagayor arjunayoś cākaron nirāsaṃ nagayoḥ[59] |35

api muhur ambālālyāṃ bibhrāṇaḥ śaiśavīṃ dhuraṃ bālālyām
hrasvāṅgo 'pīnāṃsaḥ sann[60] api hṛdayaṃ jahāra gopīnāṃ saḥ |36

trijagati kevalabhadras tathaiva vavṛdhe tadantike balabhadraḥ[61]
dadato vasu devādyaḥ[62] prāg rohiṇyāṃ babhūva[63] vasudevād yaḥ |37

aribhaṅgopāyaṃ tau[64] tanvānau gokulāni gopāyantau
vāditanānāvādyau vijahratur vanabhuvaṃ dhunānāv[65] ādyau |38

kacajitajambālābhyāṃ cāru dadadbhyāṃ mukhāmbujaṃ bālābhyām
dvābhyāṃ mānasamābhyāṃ vanaṃ jagāhe satāṃ ca mānasam ābhyām |39

hataripunānāvaṃśau sākṣād viṣṇor jagatpunānāv aṃśau
mudam adhikām amalasatāṃ tanvānau tau vane nikāmam alasatām[66] |40

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[47] saśaiśavajananyāyam. [48] Nit. khelam. [49] Nit. khe 'lam. [50] yas, Nit. sa.
[51] adhīśitāpakṣatyā. [52] ācarad, Nit. acarad. [53] anāhitarakṣoḥ.
[54] akṛtasadadhitakrāntaṃ. [55] adhitakrāntam. [56] kopa māśunītas. [57] yaśodāntasya.
[58] karmaparavaśodāntasya. [59] nirāsannagayoḥ.
[60] 'pīnāṃsasarasann, Nit. apīnāṃsaḥ sann. [61] valabhadraḥ. [62] vasudevād yaḥ.
[63] Nit. prababhūva. [64] aribhaṅgopāyantau. [65] Nit. punānāv. [66] alasatābhyām.

maulividhāv arhāṇāṃ tatīr dadhānau ca bahuvidhāvarhāṇām
vicayaṃ vanamālāyās tanvānau nāyakau bhuvanamālāyāḥ |41

atha bṛndāvananāmakhyātaṃ yat kusumasampadāvananāma
vipinam adabhram aviśatāṃ tau śākhām bibhrad urumadabhrama-
viśatām |42

durgaṃ durvṛkṣāṇāṃ kuhacin nivahena kuhacid urvṛkṣāṇām
kvāpi ripuṃ nāgānāṃ[67] khagaṃ dadhānaṃ vaneṣu punnāgānām |43

subahulatālīnāgaṃ śītalahintālatālatālīnāgam
yad udaṃśukapikalāpaṃ sacakorakrauñcakuraraśukapikalāpam[68] |44

ravikaratīvratatīnāṃ niṣeddhṛ nikareṇa[69] mālatīvratatīnām
surabhāv aṭavīrudbhiḥ sarittaṭe saṅkaṭaṃ ca vaṭavīrudbhiḥ |45

ṛṣyoko 'malabarhi sphītaṃ[70] mūlaiḥ phalaiś ca komalabarhi
saritāṃ kūlapayogaṃ dadhac ca sattvaṃ davāc[71] ca kūlapayogam |46

tulitamahānīlena sputaṃ iva vibabhau sagharmahānīlena[72]
sravadaviratakālindījalena yatprastaro maratakālindī |47

gahanaṃ dhenukabalataḥ pralambataḥ keśinaś ca dhenukabalataḥ
jagad api[73] kaṅkāli yataḥ krūram ariṣṭād bhayānakaṃ kāliyataḥ |48

taṃ bṛndāvanadeśaṃ girikuñjanitambakacchadāvanadeśam
vijahārāviśyāmākāraṃ rāmeṇa śaurir āviśyāmā |49

vidadhur gopāḥ sādaram atra sadāmodarā gavām ānayanam
harim anu yayau ca santatam atra yad āmodarāgavāmānayanam |50

tulitakalāpikalāpā keśakalāpena madakalāpikalāpā[74]
kṛṣṇaṃ gopamahelātatir anuvavrāja dṛśi mṛgopamahelā |51

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[67] ripunāgānāṃ.
[68] sa cakorakrauñcakuraraśukapikalāpam.
[69] niṣeddhṛnikareṇa.
[70] ṛṣyeko malabarhisphītaṃ.
[71] gavāṃ, Nit. davāt.
[72] sadharmahānīlena.
[73] Nit. adhi.
[74] madakalāpi kalāpā.

tīre 'pām suṣvāpa kvacit kvacit krīḍanaṃ ca pāṃsuṣv āpa
yuvatijanāya nanāha srajaṃ ca kuhacid dhasan nināya na nāhaḥ |52

api lalanābhogāya tvarate sam kvacana padmanābho 'gāyat[75]
saha kuhacid anṛtyad ayaṃ kayāpi kām apy avañcayad
[anṛtyadayam] |53

sati kāme kālāliśriyā[76] kaṭākṣeṇa sarasam ekālāli
āśvāsi tadānena praṇayakṛśānyā punar hasitadānena |54

api ca latāgāram ayaṃ nyaṣevata tṛṇaṃ pradāya tā gā ramayan
kvāṇitabhāsuravaṃśaḥ[77] kvāpi sthitavān hataprabhāsuravaṃśaḥ |55

iti sarasaṃ sa dideva svāmī bālo 'pi[78] yuvatisaṃsadi devaḥ
na khalu bhaved īśasya sparśo 'ghair yat svarūpavedī śasyaḥ[79] |56

abhṛta[80] sadeśaḥ keśavam āyatakiṃśukakadambakesaravetraḥ[81]
śrutipatham apy anyat drutam āyata kiṃ śukakadambake[82]
sarave 'tra |57

sāsurakusumāt kṛṣṇaḥ kopaṃ kāmaṃ dadhe 'nu[83] bṛndāvanataḥ
satṛṇāc cāsya na lābhaḥ ko 'paṅkāmandadhenubṛndāvanataḥ |58

sasallakīkadambake[84] kadambakesarākule
praphullanaktamālake[85] tamālaketakīvṛte[86] |59

kapotakekisaṅkule sahaṃsakokapotake[87]
sasārasasvane vane janārdanaḥ sasāra saḥ |60

vane 'bhramat sadaivatais tirohitaiḥ sadaiva taiḥ
vidhūtavālavījanaḥ[88] prabhuḥ savallavījanaḥ |61

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[75] 'agāyat' has been transferred from the beginning of line b.
[76] kālāli śriyā.
[77] kvaṇita bhāsuravaṃśaḥ.
[78] bālopi.
[79] svarūpavedīśasya.
[80] ahṛta, Nit. abhṛta.
[81] āyata kiṃśukakadambake saravetraḥ.
[82] kiṃśukakadambake.
[83] dadhenu, Nit. dadhe 'nu.
[84] sasallakī kadambake.
[85] praphullanatkamālake.
[86] tamālaketakī vṛte.
[87] sahaṃsako kapotake.
[88] Nit. vidhūtavālavyajanaḥ.

avantam uttamaṃ janaṃ tviṣā jayantam añjanam
prabhūtagavyapāyinaṃ jagattraye 'vyapāyinam[89] |62

sadhenuvatsamānanaṃ samānanaṃ saroruhaiḥ
navāvataṃsamastakaṃ[90] samastakaṇṭakāntakam |63

śiroruhe kalāpinaṃ vadhūbhir ekalāpinam
tadoṣṭhapānalālasaṃ tataḥ smarānalālasam |64

sapatnalokalāvinaṃ[91] kṣayaṃ gate[92] kalāv inam
samastagamyagarbhakaṃ[93] tathāpi samyagarbhakam |65

satattvavedakāraṇaṃ[94] jagatpramodakāraṇam
sphurantam āśaye kṣaṇaṃ satāṃ kuśeśayekṣaṇam[95] |66

śiśoḥ samānabhogataḥ pramodinaṃ nabhogataḥ[96]
nunāva satsabhājanaḥ prabhuṃ dyusatsabhājanaḥ[97] |67

jaya prabho gadādhara[98] priyāsu bhogadādhara
samud dharāstu tadgataṃ samuddharāsuraṃ bharam[99] |68

jagattrayaṃ pramodaya trayīkṛtapramodaya
surāḥ kṛtāsurakṣayā[100] bhavantu te surakṣayā |69

pramodinīr ajaḥ prajāḥ sṛjañ[101] śritādinīrajaḥ
yato 'mbujākṣa jāyate namo 'stv adhokṣajāya te[102] |70

yadicchayā yuge yuge samastavastu tāyate
namo 'stu[103] nātha yogibhiḥ samastavastutāya te[104] |71

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89. A meaningless 'dyusatsabhājanaḥ' has been deleted from the end of line b.
90. navāvataṃ samastakaṃ. 91. sapatnalo kalā vinaṃ. 92. kṣayaṃgate.
93. samastagamya garbhakaṃ. 94. satatva vedakāraṇaṃ. 95. kuśeśaye kṣaṇam.
96. na bho gataḥ. 97. prabhuṃdyutsatsabhājanaḥ. 98. prabhogadādhara.
99. samuddharāsuraṃbharam. 100. kṛtāsura kṣayā. 101. sṛjan.
102. adhokṣa jāyate. 103. namostu. 104. samaṃstavastutāyate.

aśeṣavastu nāma yat tvam[105] eva cetanāmaya
api prabhedam āyayāv idaṃ tvadīyamāyayā |72

iti vrajena nākinām[106] anāvi lokanāyakaḥ[107]
kiśorakasya tasya nonmanā[108] vilokanāya kaḥ[109] |73

karasthadīpravīṇataḥ kalasvarapravīṇataḥ
kaceṣu kamprabarhataḥ kṣatāsuraprabarhataḥ
surarṣiviprasannatasvarūpataḥ prasannataḥ
visarpato vanaṃ śriyaṃ tato dadhāv anantataḥ[110] |74

[iti] prathamāśvāsaḥ

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[105] aśeṣavastvanāmayatvam. [106] vrajenanākinām. [107] anāviloka nāyakaḥ.
[108] tasyanonmanā. [109] viloka nāyakaḥ.
[110] The MS reading of the verse is corrupt:

karasthadīpravīṇataḥ kalasvarapravīṇataḥ kaceṣu kamprabarhataḥ
kṣatāsuraprabarhataḥ surarṣiviprasannatasvarūpataḥ karasthadīpravīṇataḥ
kalasvarapravīṇataḥ.

The last word of the third 'pada' and the fourth 'pada' have been emended on the basis of Nit.

[atha dvitīyāśvāsaḥ]

atha vibhunā[1] vīro gā rakṣan rāmeṇa samamanā vīrogāḥ
bṛndāvanam ālolaṃ vyadhatta[2] vicaran hariḥ savanamālo 'lam |1

kṛtavimalolapadānāṃ gavāṃ tatiṃ pālayan vilolapadānām
sakusumamadhunā śītāṃ marutā yamunām avāpa madhunāśī tām[3] |2

tulayan dhāmātasyāḥ[4] kālindyāḥ kutracit tridhāmā[5] tasyāḥ
sarve sarpanto yaṃ naśyeyuḥ[6] prāptavān sasarpaṃ toyam |3

yasmād āvānalataḥ[7] sa vanoddeśo[8] yathaiva dāvānalataḥ
svaviṣair avasannāgaḥ kāliyanāmā yadantar avasan nāgaḥ |4

śirasi kadambanagasya nyasya sa puruṣottamaḥ[9] padaṃ vanagasya
tatra papātālolaṃ vanam api kurvan vidhūtapātālo 'lam[10] |5

tadanu ca vāryantarataḥ kāliyanāmā javād ivāryantarataḥ
adhikatarakṣudro[11] 'hī ruṣābhidudrāva rurutarakṣudrohī[12] |6

sa hi[13] toye nānāhiśreṇīsahitena kāliyenānāhi[14]
vidadhāv ālolāsyaṃ taṃ dhūtvā tatphaṇāsu bālo lāsyam[15] |7

nirdhūya vyālasyas svāmī[16] viṣam āśu kāliyavyālasya
ālambata[17] tīram ayaṃ nadyāḥ[18] punar eva vallavatatī ramayan |8

tadanu ca lolapavanataḥ kālindītīrataś ca lolapavanataḥ
arijanatālavanāya[19] prasthānam asau cakāra tālavanāya |9

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1. vidhinā, Nit. vibhunā. 2. Nit. The word is missing in the MS. 3. madhunā śītam.
4. dhāmā tasyāḥ. 5. tridhāma. 6. yannaśyeyuḥ. 7. yasmā dāvānalataḥ.
8. savanoddeśaḥ. 9. sapuruṣottamaḥ. 10. vidhūtapātālolam. 11. adhikatara kṣudro.
12. rurutara kṣudrohi. 13. sahi. 14. kāliye nānāhi. 15. vālolāsyam.
16. vyālasya ssvāmī. 17. alambata, Nit. ālambata. 18. ayannadyāḥ.
19. arijanatā lavanāya.

tatra gurugrāvahulāḥ[20] kṣipan samaṃ gopaśiśubhir ugrā bahulāḥ[21]
phalaśatam uttālānām aśātayat[22] keśavaḥ samut tālānām |10

anukṛtavetālānāṃ kriyamāṇe bhairave rave tālānām
sa kharo dhenukalāpaḥ krudhābhidudrāva vidhutadhenukalāpaḥ |11

taṃ rāmas tālasya skandhe cikṣepa danujam astālasyaḥ
hatamarmā[23] pāpāsus sthiradhīś ceṣṭāsu[24] patanam āpāpāsuḥ |12

atha ghṛtabhāṇḍī rāgaṃ strīṇāṃ janayann upetya bhāṇḍīrāgam
tatra ca bahulāpānāṃ cikrīḍa harir gaṇena bahulāpānām |13

kaścid dveṣāntarataḥ pralambanāmāsuro 'tra veṣāntarataḥ
prayayāv adhyaṃsaṃ taṃ[25] halabhṛtam[26] āropya jagadavadhyaṃ
santam |14

vipulaśiraskaṃ dharataḥ sthūlataraṃ tasya haladharaḥ skandharataḥ
pramamarda sumuṣṭikaraḥ taṃ muṣṭyā duṣṭam asuhṛdasumuṣṭikaraḥ |15

ativelaṃ vegaṃ ite[27] rāmeṇa harir vadhaṃ pralambe gamite
muditamanā nāma vane tatraivāraṃsta godhanānām avane |16

atha bhagavallavane tu sthiramatayaḥ kumbhakasya vallavanetuḥ
vṛṣatām avasann asurā dadhatas saptādhi goṣṭham avasannasurāḥ |17

khalacetobhir aṭadbhiḥ saptabhir ukṣabhir itastato 'bhiraṭadbhiḥ[28]
cakre kumbhakavāṭaḥ truṭitakuṭībhittiśakaṭakumbhakavāṭaḥ |18

tān āroddhuṅkṛtibhir gopaiḥ saha kumbhako niroddhuṃ kṛtibhiḥ
na ca punar atrāsahata svajanaṃ proce ca gurutaratrāsahataḥ[29] |19

jāyeta na yā[30] meyā guṇeṣu nīlāhvayāsti[31] tanayā me yā[32]
tasya samut sā dayitā yo 'mīṣāṃ darpabalasamutsādayitā |20

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20. gurugrāva hulāḥ. 21. ugrāva hulāḥ. 22. aśātayet. 23. Nit. vicarmā.
24. pāpāsu sthiradhīś ceṣṭasu. 25. adhyaṃ santaṃ. 26. Nit. haladharam.
27. iti, Nit. ite. 28. itastatobhiraṭadbhiḥ. 29. gurutaratrā sahataḥ. 30. jāyetanayā.
31. nīlāhvāyāsti. 32. meyā.

iti javanā nāmāyuḥ[33] kumbhakavacasā ghnato janānām āyuḥ
tān prati nānāpāśā[34] nīlāṃ prati ye sayauvanā nāpāśāḥ[35] |21

nipuṇadhiyo gopā ye[36] niratās tannigrahaprayogopāye
te taiḥ[37] samadāryanta śrutavān etat prabhuś ca samadāryantaḥ |22

kopād āpāpatamās[38] tān kṛṣṇas te ca taṃ tadā pāpatamāḥ
tair āpan nāma raṇaṃ[39] paraḥ pumāṃs te tataḥ prapannā maraṇam |23

kriyayā vṛṣabhāsurayā prasādya kumbhakam apāstavṛṣabhāsurayā[40]
reme nīlābhena[41] prabhuṇā nīlā ca[42] tarjanīlābhena[43] |24

ṛṣabham aśaṅkaṃ sasyagrāsakaraṃ[44] goṣu karkaśaṃ[45] kaṃsasya
yadukulaketor iṣṭaṃ kṛṣṇaḥ praikṣiṣṭa vananiketo 'riṣṭam |25

kṛtasādorubhayena dviṣatsu kaṇṭhe[46] prapīḍya dorubhayena[47]
kṛṣṇo nāśam[48] anaiṣīt ariṣṭam aripakṣamūrcchanāśamanaiṣī |26

mattaḥ kaṃsādarataḥ satāṃ samūhasya cādhikaṃ sādarataḥ
ghoṣasukeśīnām apriyakṛt[49] turaṅgo[50] 'janiṣṭa keśī nāma |27

tena sadā vegāvasthitena[51] caratā pragṛhya dāve gāvaḥ
bhayahīnenādyanta[52] svāmī[53] sthita eṣa yadavane 'nādyantaḥ |28

kṛṣṇaḥ kaṃsahayaṃ taṃ[54] goṣu krauryaṃ krudhādhikaṃ saha yantam[55]
āsede[56] 'śaniraṭanaṃ subalam yasyāpi[57] savidhadeśaniraṭanam[58] |29

sa ca bhayadaṃ[59] śitadaśanaṃ vyādita vadanaṃ[60] janaughadaṃśi tadaśanam
kartuṃ tatrāsa karaṃ[61] kṛṣṇas tam avardhayac ca tatrāsakaram |30

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[33] javanānāmāyuḥ. [34] sayauvanānāpāśāḥ. [35] nānāpāśāḥ [36] gopāye.
[37] tai. [38] āpāpātamās. [39] āpannā maraṇaṃ. [40] apāsta vṛṣabhāsurayā.
[41] remenīlā bhena. [42] nīlākhya. [43] tajjanīlābhena.
[44] ṛṣabhaśaṅkaṃsasyagrāsakaraṃ. [45] goṣukarkaśaṃ. [46] dviṣatsukaṇṭhe.
[47] prapīḍyadorubhayena. [48] kṛṣṇonāśam. [49] ghoṣasukeśī nāmapriyakṛt
[50] turaṅgo, Nit. turagaḥ. [51] Nit. veṣāvasthitena. [52] Nit. bhayavītena ... ādyanta.
[53] svāmi. [54] kaṃsahayantaṃ. [55] sahayantam. [56] Nit. āpede.
[57] api yasya. [58] savidha deśaniraṭanam. [59] sacabhayadaṃ. [60] vyāditavadanaṃ.
[61] tatrāsakaram.

atha bibhide hastena prabhoḥ pravṛddhena keśidehas tena
ajani janāmnātena śrīśena ca keśavādyanāmnā tena[62] |31

iti bṛndāvanagasya bhramataḥ kṛṣṇasya duṣṭadāvanagasya
ajani kadācit tasya prāvṛṭ pramadātirekadā cittasya[63] |32

ṛtunā vanadeśena sphuṭam abhiṣiktāḥ pravṛddhavanadeśena
sphaṭikamakuṭacāru ciraṃ kusumavitānaṃ dadhuś ca kuṭajā ruciram |33

hṛṣyati nīrājīve jantusamūhe jale ca nīrājīve
tasmin kāle bhekā[64] nedur modaṃś[65] ca haṃsikā lebhe kā[66] |34

kāle nīrasakāśe paritaḥ paṅkākule ca nīrasakāśe
haṃsā mānasam ete[67] yayur bakoṭe ca nadati mānasamete[68] |35

kusumāṅkakubhāgānāṃ kakubhāgānāṃ vaneṣu satataṃ carataḥ
tasyāṃ prāvṛṣy antaḥ prāvṛṣyanta smareṇa kṛṣṇasya śarāḥ |36

te gaganābhasya ghanāśliṣṭaśrītanulatasya nābhasyaghanāḥ[69]
ramaṇīyā vaidyutyā tanuṃ harer anuyayus tayā vai dyutyā[70] |37

vyaharad amā gopikayā[71] kṛṣṇo dadhye tadīyam āgo 'pi kayā[72]
na samā kā menakayā tāsu na tāsām aroci kāmena kayā[73] |38

atha kṛṣṭaśarāsanayā smareṇa sumanobhir utkaṭaśarāsanayā
śobhā lebhe[74] śaradā śaśilekhātulitanirmalebheśaradā[75] |39

ulbaṇavālarkṣyāyāṃ[76] śaradi kṣīrāmbudhāv ivālakṣyāyām
jyotsnāyām alasanta sphuṭitāḥ phenodgamaśriyāmalasantaḥ |40

pihitatarāṅkuraravayaḥ[77] kālā yayur arasad atitarāṃ kuraravayaḥ
vikacaṃ kamalaṃ cakre sarasāṃ haṃsāvalī ca kam alañcakre |41

62. keśa vākhyānāmnatena, Nit. keśavādyanāmnā ... tena. 63. pramadātire kadācittasya.
64. bhekāḥ. 65. modañ. 66. haṃsikāle bhekā. 67. haṃsāmānasamete.
68. nadatimānasamete. 69. 'ghanā' has been transferred from the beginning of line b.
70. vaidyutyā. 71. amāgopi kayā. 72. āgopikayā.
73. na samākāmenakayā tāsunata sāmarocikāmena kayā. 74. śobhālebhe.
75. śaśilekhā tulita nirmalebhe śaradā. 76. ulbaṇavālakṣyāyāṃ, Nit. ulbaṇavālarkṣyāyāṃ.
77. rahitakarāṅkuraravayaḥ, Nit. pihitatarāṅkuraravayaḥ.

sphuṭayā śaradā vavṛte yadā tadā bhūtale 'tra śaradāvavṛte[78]
śikhinaḥ ke kālāpā[79] visārya maṇḍalam adhuś ca[80] kekālāpāḥ |42

ajani dhunī lolapayā[81] vimalā bhūmyāpy abhāvi nīlolapayā[82]
reje kairavakāśair[83] jagati maliṣṭhair abhāvi kair avakāśaiḥ[84] |43

pathikanudaṃ prekṣyartuṃ sanadīprasaroruhaṃsasārasarasitam[85]
prabhur astrīko 'prasaraṃ[86] sa na dīprasaroruhaṃ[87] sasāra
sarasi tam[88] |44

śrīr vibabhāv asanasya prabhur akṛta tad eva vallabhāvasanasya
gāṃ tṛṇaghaṭayāmā sa[89] śrīśo 'pi[90] sa tāṃ[91] tayaiva ghaṭayām āsa |45

sumanobhis samadāli prabhumana āpi[92] smareṣubhis samadāli[93]
samadanabhāro haṃsaḥ[94] pulinam agāc cāpa[95] vallabhārohaṃ saḥ |46

śukyā kalame kānte[96] tadīyagopyāpy[97] akūji kalam ekānte[98]
apy avanir bāṇena sphuritā jajñe vibhuś ca nirvāṇena |47

abhajata śobhā[99] goṣṭhaṃ prabhur api gopyāḥ papau yaśobhāg
oṣṭham[100]
śrīr iyam ārtavyāpatpramokṣadaṃ cāpi rāmam ārtavy āpat |48

hṛdi sphuratparāvarau nirodhatatparāv arau
sitāsitāṅgarocitau[101] yugāntasāgarocitau |49

kṛtasthitī vane vane sthitau tathāvane 'vaneḥ[102]
vataṃsapuṣparājitau[103] raṇe raṇe 'parājitau |50

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[78] bhūtaletraśaradāvavṛte. [79] kekālāpaṃ. [80] visāryamaṇḍalamadhuś ca.
[81] dhunīlolapayā. [82] abhāvinī lolapayā. [83] rejekairava kāśaiḥ.
[84] jagatimaliṣṭhairabhāvikairavakāśaiḥ. [85] sanadīprasaroruhaṃ sasāra sarasitam.
[86] 'pi rasaṃ, Nit. aprasaraṃ. [87] sanadīprasaroruhaṃ. [88] sasārasarasitam.
[89] tṛṇa ghaṭayā māsa. [90] śrī śo 'pi. [91] satāṃ. [92] prabhumanasāpi.
[93] samadāri, Nit. samadāli. [94] samadana bhārohaṃ saḥ.
[95] 'āpa' is not found in the MS, but is given as a part of the original text by Nit.
[96] kalamekānte. [97] tadīya gopyāpy. [98] hi kānte, Nit. ekānte. [99] abhajataśobhā.
[100] yaśo bhāgoṣṭham. [101] sitā sitāṅgarocitau. [102] tathā vane vaneḥ.
[103] Nit. avataṃsapuṣparājitau.

ubhāv api prabhū tataḥ[104] prabhūtataḥ praharṣataḥ
atīva vatsakau tu kau[105] sakautukau vijahratuḥ |51

[iti] dvitīyāśvāsaḥ

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104. prabhūtataḥ. 105. vatsakautukau.

[atha tṛtīyāśvāsaḥ]

atha munibṛndāvanataḥ[1] kṛṣṇaḥ krīḍām avāpya bṛndāvanataḥ
agamat sarasaṃ ghoṣaṃ kadāpi mūrcchajjanaprasarasaṅghoṣam |1

dṛṣṭavrajatānena vrajatānena drutaṃ vyalokyanta
bhaktatayā gopā ye[2] yāgopāye[3] ratā mahendrasya |2

sthitim āpa pracchādya[4] svātmānaṃ yas tadeti papracchādyaḥ[5]
kasmai devāya maho vidhīyate vadata vidhivad[6] evāyam aho[7] |3

ūcur imaṃ gopās te śaradi mahendraṃ jano 'yam[8] aṅgopāste[9]
tasya mahāyāsannaḥ kālaḥ smaratkṛte (?) mahāyāsaṃ naḥ[10] |4

iti kṛtagauravam uktāḥ śrutvā gāḥ svāminā ca gaur avamuktā
pūjyā gopānānnasthitipradā giraya[11] eva gopānāṃ naḥ[12] |5

itthaṃ dāmodarataḥ śrutvā vacanaṃ janas tadāmodarataḥ
śakramahāyāgasya tyāgād ārabdhavān mahāyāgasya |6

te govardhanayajñaṃ vyadhur hariṃ nyasya gurum ivarddhanayajñam[13]
amalam atanvannasya pracayena nivedyam apy atanvann asya[14] |7

kṛṣṇaḥ sa mahāvapuṣā[15] śaile 'tra niṣadya śailasamahāvapuṣā[16]
vipulatamaṃ namayantaṃ bhuvam api bhuṅkte sma rāśim
annamayaṃ tam[17] |8

jaladair vāritadāvair indrādiṣṭaiḥ subhūri vāri tadā vai
tasmin varadevavṛṣe[18] rakṣaty api gokulāni varade vavṛṣe |9

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[1] athamuni bṛndāvanataḥ. [2] gopāye. [3] yā gopāye. [4] āpapracchādya. [5] tadetipapracchādyaḥ. [6] vadatavidhivad. [7] The word is missing in the MS but found in Nit. [8] janoyam. [9] aṅga samupāste. [10] mahāyāsannaḥ. [11] gopānānna sthiti pradāgiraya. [12] gopānānnaḥ. [13] ivardhana yajñam. [14] atanvan, Nit. ataṇvan ... asya. [15] samahāvapuṣā. [16] niṣadyaśailasamahāvapuṣā. [17] bhuṅktesmarāśimannamayantam. [18] varade vavṛṣe.

tasthau nīrakṣā mā bhūma svāminn[19] itīva nīrakṣāmā
dṛṣṭiṃ mādhavalīnāṃ tanvānā tatir[20] anuttamādhavalīnām[21] |10

atha girir ekakareṇa[22] prādhāri jagatsukhātirekakareṇa
chattram iva prītena prabhuṇā govardhanaḥ sa vaprī tena[23] |11

sutrāmā gopanataḥ[24] prītaḥ samprāpya kṛṣṇam āgopanataḥ
amṛtaiḥ surasadasāmā govindety[25] abhiṣiṣeca surasadasāmā |12

avagatavedāntānāṃ mahātmanāṃ[26] muktihetave dāntānām
bhuvanāni bhayād avate namo 'stu dalitendranīlanibha yādavate[27] |13

amunā golābhena tvayā dhṛtenādriṇā sagolābhena
asuharam anyenātha kṣoṇyā bhāraṃ[28] hṛtaṃ ca manye nātha |14

avatā jagad etena proktenety acyutena jagade tena[29]
dānavajanakampārthaṃ jātaṃ jāne pramodajanakaṃ[30] pārtham |15

sasuyodhanarādheye sadroṇadrauṇibhīṣmabhūriśravasi[31]
sasuyodhanarādheye[32] sakhā bhaviṣyāmi cāsya[33] bhāratasamare |16

iti kathitaḥ sa svar ayāt[34] tridaśapatiḥ senayā vṛtaḥ sasvarayā
prītim apaśv āpadataḥ sa cāpa bṛndāvanād apaśvāpadataḥ |17

iti ripumānavanāśe viharati viṣṇau viśodhyamānavanāśe
prāpa pure kaṃsaṃ taṃ nāradanāmā maharṣir ekaṃ santam |18

dayito me kaṃsa tvaṃ[35] vadāmy atas tvadvadhārtham[36] ekaṃ sattvam
khalasaṃkulabhūmitraṃ[37] sañjātaṃ viddhi vṛṣṇikulabhūmitram |19

satataṃ bho rakṣa tataḥ[38] kaṃsātmānaṃ jagatprabhor akṣatataḥ
sa yaśodānandābhyāṃ pragopyate[39] gokule sadānandābhyām |20

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[19] nīra kṣāmā bhūmasvāminn. [20] tanvānātatir. [21] anuttamā dhavalānīm.
[22] athagirir eka kareṇa. [23] savaprītena. [24] govanataḥ. [25] govinda ity.
[26] Nit. yaminām. [27] dalitendranīlanibhayādavate. [28] kṣoṇyābhāraṃ.
[29] jagadetena. [30] pramoda janakaṃ. [31] sadroṇidrauṇi bhīṣma bhūri śravasi.
[32] sasuyodhanarādheya. [33] bhaviṣyāmicāsya. [34] sasvarayāt.
[35] dayitomekaṃ satvaṃ. [36] tva dvadhārtham. [37] khalasaṃkula bhūmitraṃ.
[38] bhorakṣatataḥ. [39] prāgopyata.

iti kathayitvā yātaḥ sa nārado[40] nākināṃ jayitvāyātaḥ[41]
aśiṣac cāpamahāya svajanaṃ kaṃso vicintya cāpamahā yaḥ[42] |21

kriyatāṃ tarasā raṅgas[43] tasya dvāre ca mattatarasāraṅgaḥ
tarjitabalabhinnāgaḥ[44] sthāpyaḥ śaurer vadhāya balabhinnāgaḥ |22

cittaṃ yo mallolaṃ dhatte sa ca muṣṭikāhvayo mallo 'lam
āneyaś cāṇūraḥ sa ca muṣṭyāreḥ karoti yaś cāṇūraḥ |23

tābhyāṃ mallālibhyāṃ dviradena ca tena tulitamallālibhyām
kṛtvā cāpāya mahaṃ[45] śatroḥ kuryām ihaiva cāpāyam aham |24

iti sa punar amātyajanasthāpitakṛtyaḥ purasthitaramātyajanaḥ
acyutaparam akrūraṃ kṛṣṇānayane śaśāsa paramakrūram |25

dadhi dadhatī vrajavāsā janatā maham ājihīta tīvrajavā sā[46]
mama sakumāraṃ[47] bhavatā yathā tathākrūra[48] bhāvyam ārambhavatā |26

itthaṃ kaṃsāravataḥ so 'krūro harṣato 'dhikaṃ sāravataḥ
syandanam āsthāyātaḥ prāsthita kṛṣṇaṃ praṇantum āsthāyātaḥ |27

kṛtaripunāyakadāhaṃ paśyeyaṃ pāpanirasanāya kadāham
viṣṇuṃ[49] māyāmanujaṃ sañjātaṃ halabhṛtaḥ kṣamāyām anujam |28

śubhadehaṃ māṃ sadṛśaṃ devair manye na vedmy ahaṃ māṃśadṛśam
janmani hīne 'trābhyāṃ[50] viṣṇuṃ paśyāmi yo 'dya hī[51] netrābhyām |29

mattaḥ ko nāmānyas trailokye[52] vidyate 'dhiko nā mānyaḥ[53]
kṛtasammānanamasyas[54] svadṛśā hi hareḥ pibeyam ānanam asya |30

ity adhikaṃ budhyā yan nāthasya vapur dhṛtārikambu dhyāyan
divyaturaṅgo 'vāṭann[55] akrūraḥ prāpa satvaraṃ govāṭam |31

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[40] sanārado. [41] jayitvā yātaḥ. [42] vicintyacāpamahāyaḥ. [43] tarasāraṅgas.
[44] tarjitavalabhinnāgaḥ, Nit. nirjitabalabhinnāgaḥ. [45] cāpāyamahaṃ.
[46] janatāmahamājihītatīvrajavāsā. [47] ravakumāraṃ. [48] yathā krūra. [49] viṣṇur.
[50] hī netrābhyāṃ. [51] hi. [52] nāmānya strailokye. [53] nāmānyaḥ.
[54] kṛtassammānanamasya. [55] divyaturaṅgovāṭann.

sudṛśām ānanapāyī māyāvapuṣā paraḥ pumān anapāyī
tiṣṭhann āgodo 'her[56] akrūreṇaikṣi ratamanā[57] godohe |32

prāpya vavande 'vantaṃ gavāṃ kulaṃ kapaṭamānavaṃ devaṃ tam
so 'tha vipulakāntābhyāṃ dorbhyām āśliṣṭavān sapulakāntābhyām[58] |33

akrūraṃ svaṃ gehaṃ nītvā kṛṣṇaḥ kṛtādaraṃ svaṅgeham
snigdhadhiyāmā sāyaṃ halinā svannena pūjayām āsāyam |34

sthitam ekaṃ savidhe yaṃ kṛṣṇaḥ papraccha karma kaṃsavidheyam
sarvaṃ tam[59] asāv addhā śrāvitavān dhīr yathāsya tamasā baddhā |35

śubhacetanayā deśāt tasmād gopāḥ śvaphalkatanayādeśāt
jagmuḥ kaṃsamahāya svāmī rāmas tathādhikaṃ samahā yaḥ |36

acyutam akrūra tvaṃ[60] mā naiṣīs tava[61] hi yogyam akrūratvam
eṣa vinā govindaṃ na jano jīvet kathaṃ ca nāgo 'vindat |37

nanu nāma parādhīnaḥ snehena tvayi jano 'yam aparādhī na[62]
enaṃ sakalaṃ kena tvaṃ[63] tyajasi saroruhākṣa sakalaṅkena |38

santatam adhikāmadhurāḥ[64] kasya giraḥ prāpya cāṅkam adhikā madhurāḥ
śroṣyāmaḥ śrotrābhyāṃ kṛṣṇo yadi yāti rāmamiśro 'trābhyām |39

itthaṃ rathyāyāṃ taṃ[65] rāmaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ ca vīkṣya rathyāyāntam
snehenānāgopya svajāḍyam[66] alapaṃś ca tatra nānā gopyaḥ |40

sa vibhur arodhi kamanyā[67] kayāpi tasthau ca tatpuro 'dhikam anyā
tyaktvā śaṅkām aparā cakarṣa kṛṣṇaḥ kare bhṛśaṃ kāmaparā |41

acyutam atyantaratasvadhiyā dhyātvā viramya matyantarataḥ
paramapade bandhanyā kācit prāptā tam eva[68] devaṃ dhanyā |42

tarasaivāgaccheyaṃ svasthās tiṣṭhata madīyavāg[69] accheyam
iti tā māyādevaḥ svayaṃ samāśvāsya samahimāyād eva |43

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[56] āgodoher. [57] akrūreṇaiksiratamanā. [58] āśliṣṭavāntsapulakāntābhyām.
[59] sarvantam. [60] akrūratvaṃ. [61] naiṣī stava. [62] aparādhīna.
[63] sakalaṅkenatvaṃ. [64] adhikā madhurāḥ. [65] rathyāyāntaṃ.
[66] snehenānāgopyasvajāḍyaṃ. [67] arodhikamanyā. [68] evaṃ, Nit. eva.
[69] madīya vāg.

vaśam agamac[70] chatam asya strīṇāṃ yadratir apīyam acchatamasya[71]
adhigatakāmāyāsā sarvaṃ tadanugrahātmikā māyā sā |44

atha haliśauryakrūrā[72] yāntaḥ śatror vadhāya śauryakrūrāḥ
kālindīpāram[73] itās tanmarutā yadukulapradīpā[74] ramitāḥ |45

akrūraḥ syandanagau muktvā tau kīrtinirjjharasyandanagau[75]
yamunāyā velāyām avātarat[76] svaniyamakriyāvelāyām |46

gatvā kālindyantaṃ majjan halinaṃ sa pātakāliṃ dyantam
āpede vāryantaḥ sthitaṃ mukundaṃś[77] ca yaś ca devāryantaḥ |47

adhijalam eva pramitau tau muhur evopacakrame vapram itau[78]
āścaryābhyāṃ tābhyāṃ praṇataḥ sa tīravāścaryābhyām[79] |48

svaṃ gurubhā vitatatvaṃ nivedya tasmai vibhur vibhāvitatattvam
kṛtaripunarmadhurāyāṃ sabalākrūro gataḥ punar madhurāyām |49

tarasāmā pūryātaḥ[80] prabhum akrūras tadiṣṭam āpūryātaḥ
halinā sākaṃ sāyaṃ nyavedayat prāptam añjasā kaṃsāya |50

savidhe santam anantaṃ niśamya daityeṣu dattasantamanaṃ tam[81]
ātmavadhāvadhi kaṃsaḥ kṛṣṇavadhāyodyamaṃ dadhāv adhikaṃ saḥ |51

draṣṭum asāv adhamanayo rāmasya hareś ca raṃhasā vadham anayoḥ
śīghratamaṃś[82] cārūḍhaśvetacchattro[83] babhūva mañcārūḍhaḥ |52

tatra tu visaro māñcaḥ[84] kṛto babhāv ucchrito divi saromāñcaḥ
tasmin sa mahālokas tasthau kṛṣṇaṃ pratīkṣya samahālokaḥ |53

atha riputodī prātaḥ[85] kṣubhitaḥ sabalo 'ribhūtito[86] dīprātaḥ
bhojapater antāya svāmī prāsthita jagaddhite rantā[87] yaḥ |54

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[70] agac, Nit. agamad. [71] achatamasya. [72] hali śaurya krūrā. [73] kālindī pāram.
[74] yadukulapratīpā. [75] kīrti nirjjharasyandanagau. [76] velā yā mavātarat.
[77] mukundañ. [78] va pramitau. [79] The reading of line b is a reconstruction based on Nit. The MS reading is: ānamadāvi smayata stato starathasyā vubhau tadāvismayataḥ. [80] tarasā māpūryātaḥ. [81] dattasantamanantam. [82] śīghratamañ.
[83] cārūḍhaśveta chatro. [84] visaromāñcaḥ. [85] riputo dīprātaḥ.
[86] sabaloribhūtito. [87] jagaddhiterantā.

pathi mānī rajakāntaṃ kṛtvā vāso jahāra nīrajakāntam
abhṛta tamālākāraḥ sragguṇam[88] apy anugṛhītamālākāraḥ |55

tatra tu varṇakarābhyāṃ dāsī kaṃsasya kamalavarṇakarābhyām
sphuritakakubjātena[89] prabhuṇā saralīkṛtā ca kubjā tena[90] |56

kṛṣṇaḥ sādhvaṃsakaraḥ kaṃsakarīndrasya raṃhasā dhvaṃsakaraḥ
kṣipram arājata raṅge samudra iva saktamallarājataraṅge[91] |57

atha saṃrambhaṃ gamayan dviṣato nītvā dhanurvaraṃ bhaṅgam
ayam
ariloke līlābhī ruciraḥ kṛṣṇo vavalga kelīlābhī |58

musalī muṣṭikarodhāt tasya vadhād api mudaṃ samuṣṭikaro 'dhāt[92]
muṣṭyā cāṇūrasya prabhur asthitatīś cakāra cāṇūr asya |59

acalad valamānena svāmī rāmeṇa mahitabalamānena
tatkṣaṇataḥ paramañcasthāyī dadṛśe javaṃ gataḥ paramaṃ ca |60

svavadhasamutkaṃ santaṃ[93] kṛṣṇo mūrdhny agrahīt samut kaṃsaṃ
tam[94]
tasya ca pātakaro 'dhas[95] tadurasi nipapāta dattapātakarodhaḥ |61

giritaṭabhūvakṣo 'daḥ[96] kaṃsasya vapus tato babhūva kṣodaḥ
api lokā 'yaśyāntās[97] tatpāte syān na kasya kāyasyāntaḥ |62

hatvā kaṃsam udaṃsaḥ pitaraṃ kṛtvā samātṛkaṃ samudaṃ saḥ
avasan madhurādeśe kṛṣṇaḥ prāptograsenamadhurādeśe |63

adhikaṃsam udastarasā[98] yad avasthitim[99] āpur amī sucirāya purā[100]
nihate hariṇātra ripāv abhavann[101] adhikaṃ samudas tarasā yadavaḥ[102] |64

iti tṛtīyāśvāsaḥ[103]

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[88] sraggaṇam. [89] After this word a superfluous 'tena' is found in the MS.
[90] kubjātena. [91] satkamallarājataraṅge. [92] samuṣṭikaro dhāt.
[93] svavadhasamutkaṃsantaṃ. [94] samutkaṃ santam. [95] pātakarodhas.
[96] giritaṭabhūvakṣodaḥ. [97] lokāyasyāntas. [98] adhikaṃ samudastarasā.
[99] avasthitam. [100] 'purā' has been transferred from the beginning of line b.
[101] abhavad, Nit. abhavann. [102] tarasāyadavaḥ. [103] tṛtīya āśvāsaḥ.

atha caturthāśvāśaḥ[1]

atha gurum ārādhyāyaṃ sāndīpaninādheyam ārādhyāyam
kṛṣṇaḥ param akhilānāṃ vedānāṃ halabhṛd api saparamakhilānām |1

punar eva samastāni prabhave vipras sabhārgavasamas tāni
sarvavide śāstrāṇi[2] prītamanās tadvad upadideśāstrāṇi |2

prāptumanā gurvarthaṃ sa gurur[3] govindato 'manāg[4] urvartham
śaktyottamayā ca tataṃ purāmbudhau timihṛtaṃ sutam ayācata tam |3

ukto[5] vipravareṇa prabhus samudraṃ sametya vipravareṇa
śrībhartā[6] pañcajanāt sa timeḥ[7] prāṇāñ jahāra tāpaṃ ca janāt |4

ujjhitajanyadareṇa dviṣadasthigṛhītapāñcajanyadareṇa
yamapuram āpe tena prabhuṇā tarasaiva sambhramāpetena |5

tattanujanyena tatasvanena[8] śaṅkhena pāñcajanyena tataḥ
sa yaśobhāg āttena[9] prāpto yamalokam udadhibhāgāt tena |6

tadanu vivekī nāśaḥ syād iti hariṇā mahāhave kīnāśaḥ
prabhave dāyādaṃ taṃ[10] guror dadau yaś ca tāvad āyād antam[11] |7

nanditasāndīpanyā śaktyā sa punaḥ svatejasāṃ dīpanyā
svanivāsaṃ yamanītaḥ kṛṣṇenānīyate sma saṃyamanītaḥ |8

pūrvam avāgur uta na yaṃ[12] kvāpi tam avalokya mānavā gurutanayam[13]
na hariṃ naram[14] anyaṃ taṃ nyakkṛtabhuvanatrayaṃ[15] punar amanyanta |9

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1. caturtha āśvāsaḥ. 2. sarvavideśāstrāṇi. 3. sagurur. 4. manāg, Nit. 'manāg. 5. utko. 6. śrī bhartā. 7. satimeḥ. 8. tata svanena. 9. yaśo bhāgāttena. 10. dāyādantaṃ. 11. yas satāvadāyāntam. 12. utanayaṃ. 13. mānavāgurutanayam. 14. harinnaram. 15. anyantaṃ nyakkṛta bhuvanatrayaṃ.

śrutvā kaṃsaṃ nihataṃ[16] kruddho magadheśvaro 'dhikaṃ sann iha tam[17]
kartuṃ madhuroddhāraṃ hantuṃ cābhyājagāma madhuroddhāram |10

kāṅkṣitapūrantasya svāmī samprekṣya sainyapūraṃ tasya[18]
unnatimadravadasya pramukhe rāmeṇa sārdham adravad asya |11

bhagavān ahitatrāsī tribhuvanalayahetur eṣa nahi tatrāsīt
nanu nijapadavī tena dravatā prādarśi nītipadavītena[19] |12

saśaraśarāsaṃ dhavalaṃ śvetacchatrais tato jarāsandhabalam
arimarmanud udrāvasphītaṃ[20] kṛṣṇaṃ dravantam anududrāva |13

vegena padātī tau[21] balabhadrajanārdanau janapadātītau
tuṅgam agaṃ gomantaṃ himavantam ivāpatām agaṅgomaṃ tam[22] |14

divi sammatasīmantaṃ phalavantaṃ mūlavantam atasīmantam
madhumantaṃ gomantaṃ ceratur āsādya parvataṃ gomantam |15

so 'pi ca satvarasenaḥ śrīmān gomantam etya satvarasena
tasthau māgadharājaḥ sthagito deśo 'munottamāgadharājaḥ |16

dadhatas tātparyaṃ te[23] rāmaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ ca parvatāt paryante
pātayituṃ gomantaṃ girim adahan nṛpatayo 'tha tuṅgomaṃ tam[24] |17

atha rabhasenāpatatāṃ magadhacamūṃ[25] prati samagrasenāpatatām
nṛpasaṃsady uddhetau parākramaṃ cakratuś ca sadyuddhe tau |18

vyavasāyasametābhyāṃ saṃgrāme tārakāmayasame tābhyām[26]
dadhire nagadārīṇi svakīyalāṅgalaśarāsanagadārīṇi |19

sapadi khacakragadevair anādi[27] kṛṣṇe saśaṅkhacakragade vai[28]
dūratamodastadanuprabhavabhayair apy alābhi modas tadanu |20

tatra tatāna tilābhān rāmo musalena halakṛtānatilābhān
kṛṣṇaś cakrāntena grīvāsu ripūṃś cakarta ca krāntena |21

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[16] kaṃsannihataṃ. [17] 'dhikaṃsannihatam. [18] sainyapūrantasya.
[19] nīti padavī tena. [20] udrāva sphītaṃ. [21] padātītau. [22] agaṅgomantam.
[23] tātparyante. [24] tuṅgomantam. [25] māgadhacamūṃ, Nit. magadhacamūṃ.
[26] tārakāmayasametābhyām. [27] anādiṃ. [28] saśaṅkhacakragadevai.

itthaṃ sannarasaṃ sac chātravasainyaṃ vidhāya sannarasaṃsat
nṛpatatiṃ cāpatatāṃ nipātya tau magadhabhūpatiṃ cāpatatām |22

śatruyaśobhaṅgadayā[29] rāmas tam atāḍayat saśobhaṃ gadayā
sa nṛpas tenāpātivyathāṃ[30] tatas tena mūrcchitenāpāti |23

samitāv uddhvānena[31] pradudruve māgadhena buddhvānena[32]
tatkṣaṇam adrāvi tayā[33] tadīyacamvāpi bhaṅgam adrāv itayā |24

tasya[34] [ca] bandhur ayāsīt tau yaḥ prītyānvito bandhurayāsīt
raṇabhuvi durdamaghoṣaṃ yaṃ cedīnāṃ patiṃ vidur damaghoṣam |25

kṛṣṇas tannunnatayā tvarayā śailāt samāpatann unnatayā
sāyudhakaravīrasya prāpa prāntaṃ purasya karavīrasya |26

vairād evāyatatas tatra sṛgālāya vāsudevāya tataḥ
yudhi kharam ary ādāya[35] prabhur dadau vadham apāstamaryādāya |27

karavīrapurodarataḥ kṛṣṇo rāmas tathaiva ripurodarataḥ
proṣitamadhurāmāpatpramokṣakṛd bhūya eva madhurām āpat |28

atha mahadasurodhīmān[36] yadūn prati cacāla kaścid asuro dhīmān
kālayavananāmā yaṃ[37] manuṣyaloko bhayād avananāmāyam |29

sa tvarito[38] yavanānāṃ balāni kampitasamudratoyavanānām
ānayad ūnāntāni kruddhamanā vyāpade yadūnāṃ tāni |30

sainyam itaṃ svavalepi krauryaṃ kṛṣṇaḥ pradarśayan svabale 'pi
prati ripum āsarpantaṃ ghaṭagaṃ prajighāya samahīma sarpaṃ tam[39] |31

ahim aśitaṃ[40] ghaṭayātaṃ prahitaṃ tena ca pipīlikāghaṭayā tam[41]
dṛṣṭvā tatrāsādyaḥ svayam aikṣata tadbalaṃ ca tatrāsādya |32

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29. śatruyaśo bhaṅgadayā. 30. tenāpāti vyathāṃ. 31. uddhānena. 32. buddhānena.
33. adrāvitayā. 34. tebhyo, Nit. tasya. 35. yudhikharam. 36. mahadasuro dhīmān.
37. kālayavananāmāyaṃ. 38. satvarito. 39. sarpantam. 40. āśitaṃ.
41. pipīlikāghaṭayātam.

yavana[42] upāyātītaḥ punar eṣyati māgadho 'py upāyātītaḥ
sukhadā nāvastheyaṃ[43] tato janenānyato 'munāvastheyam |33

itthaṃ tāvad dhyāyan[44] nātho jagatāṃ dhiyā gatāvadhyāyam
aparasamudram ayāsīd yatra purāpi svayaṃ samud ramayāsīt |34

śatrusamudrekāntā[45] paramapurī paścime samudre kāntā
kṛṣṇena dvāravatī nāmnā niramāyi kāñcanadvāravatī |35

tasyāṃ apratimāyāṃ tanvatyām asurapaṅktim apratimāyām
nītvā yādavalokaṃ sa kālayavanasya[46] punar ayād avalokam |36

bhuvi vividhāvadhyantaṃ vīkṣya vibhur adhāvad āyudhāvadhyaṃ tam[47]
surasattamanud rutavān[48] sa kālayavano 'pi taṃ drutam anudrutavān |37

nidhanaṃ param asurebhyaḥ pradāya labdhvā varaṃ ca paramasurebhyaḥ
yā mucukundenāpi svaptuṃ prāk sā guhā mukundenāpi |38

so 'titapāś cātyantaṃ mucukundo 'śeta yatra pāścātyaṃ tam
tatra sa bhāgaṃ gatvā drutaṃ sthitim avāpa vinayabhāg aṅgatvāt |39

satvaram etya padaiva[49] svayam eva harī ripur mamety apadaivaḥ
rājñe sa svāpāyaprāptyai[50] tāḍanam adāc ca sasvāpāya[51] |40

īkṣitamātras tena prabudhya sa nṛpeṇa sambhramāt trastena[52]
dadhad api sāraṃ bhasma prapatati bhūtvāśubheṣu[53] sārambhaḥ sma |41

rājñā tadanu jñātaḥ[54] svāmī praṇataḥ stutaś ca tadanujñātaḥ
sa nṛpas sadyogāya prasthitavān himavate ca sadyo 'gāya[55] |42

tasmād daryantarataḥ svāmī nirgatya tāvad aryantarataḥ
tatsenāsamudāyaṃ labdhvāpat svapuram ātmanā samudāyam |43

[42] yavano pana. [43] sukhadānāvastheyaṃ. [44] dhāyan, Nit. dhyāyan.
[45] śatrusamudre kāntā. [46] sakālayavanasya. [47] āyudhāvadhyantam.
[48] surasattamanut drutavān, Nit. surasattamanud ... rutavān. [49] etyapadaiva.
[50] svāpāya prāptyai. [51] sa svāpāya. [52] sambhramātrastena. [53] bhūtvā 'śubheṣu.
[54] tadanujñātaḥ. [55] sadyogāya.

atha bhuvi matimān aparaḥ kṣitibhṛd abhūd balabhidadhikamatimānaparaḥ[56]
hṛdi hīnāmāyāsīd yasya ca yo brahmadattanāmāyāsīt |44

dvau nānāmadadhānau tasya sutau haṃsaḍibhakanāmadadhānau[57]
āstāṃ bhūmāv ahitau ghorau kṛṣṇasya vairabhūmāvahitau |45

samaramahe śastābhyāṃ[58] śastreṇāvadhyatāṃ maheśas tābhyām
pradadau samahābhūte bhayaviṣaye bhūya eva samahā bhūte |46

ajani mahāśaivābhyāṃ chinnā vidveṣiṇāṃ mahāśaivābhyām
mukhyo rājasu tābhyāṃ[59] vīrābhyāṃ tatpitā rarāja sutābhyām |47

guṇapuñjātistutayoḥ sakhājani janārdano dvijātis tu tayoḥ[60]
sa tu śiśur eva sadaiva śrībhartari bhaktimān babhūva sadaivaḥ[61] |48

viditācārādhyāyā gurupaṅktes sarva eva cārādhyāyāḥ
gṛhidharmaparāḥ śramatas tasthur vinivartya bhaktim aparāśramataḥ |49

te tu samānasavayasaḥ kadācid āpus taṭaṃ samānasavayasaḥ
sarve puṣkarasarasaḥ salilaugho yatra vikacapuṣkarasarasaḥ |50

atha durvāsasam etaṃ nirmalam abhitaḥ saronivāsasametam[62]
sodvegatamo haṃsaḥ praikṣata ḍibhakas tathaiva gatamohaṃ saḥ |51

taṃ rahasi dhyāyantaṃ brahmaparāṃ tṛptim āttasidhyā yantam[63]
gṛhidharmādaratatayā[64] haṃso 'dhikṣiptavān pramādaratatayā |52

daṇḍam amuṃ ḍambhavataś chindyāṃ bhindyāṃ vapuś ca muṇḍaṃ bhavataḥ
vetsy āśramam anyaṃ kaṃ[65] gṛhāśramān mūḍha mukhyatamam anyaṅkam |53

yaḥ kṛtadaṇḍanamasyaḥ[66] svargibhir api kāṅkṣati sma daṇḍanam asya
chedaṃ kāṣāyasya vyadhita sa[67] tulyāś ca kanakakāṣā yasya[68] |54

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[56] adhikamatimānaparaḥ, Nit. balabhidadhika(mati)matimānaparaḥ.
[57] haṃsa ḍibhakanāmā dadhānau. [58] samaramaheśastābhyāṃ. [59] rājasutābhyāṃ.
[60] dvijāti stutayoḥ. [61] sadaiva. [62] saro nivāsasametam.
[63] āttasidhyāyantam, Nit. ātmasidhyā yantam. [64] gṛhidharmaratayā.
[65] vetsyāśramam anyaṅkaṃ. [66] kṛtadaṇḍanamasya, Nit. kṛtadaṇḍanamasyaḥ.
[67] ca, Nit. sa. [68] kanakakāṣāyasya.

nihataparamahaṃ santaṃ[69] pragṛhya durvāsasaṃ paramahaṃsaṃ tam[70]
janatā sā hi tyāgād[71] dhanyā kṛṣṇaṃ saśiṣyasāhityāgāt[72] |55

sa ca saruḍ ibhakāntakaraḥ proce syāṃ vrajata haṃsaḍibhakāntakaraḥ
nārtho mama nāmānyaḥ sanyāsajano hi saniyamamanā mānyaḥ[73] |56

sa vibhur adād ity ebhyaḥ kāṣāyaṃ dīptisampadādityebhyaḥ[74]
atha hṛtatāpā yaminaḥ[75] prayayur[76] dadhyau tato 'hitāpāyam inaḥ |57

svaṃ bhūyo gehaṃ sa[77] prāpa ca nirato 'śubhaprayoge haṃsaḥ
akṛtāsūyāyamanaḥ svapituḥ kṛtavāṃś ca rājasūyāya manaḥ |58

yo vinanāmānantaṃ janārdana iti prasiddhanāmānaṃ tam[78]
balaye dāśārhāya prajighāya ca dūtam eṣa dāśārhāya |59

lavaṇaṃ bhojapa dehi[79] tvaṃ yajñārthaṃ rato 'si bhojapade hi[80]
śirasā karabhāro hi bhriyatāṃ[81] grāhyaṃ na vastu[82] karabhārohi |60

itthaṃ sadyogīṣṭaḥ sakhyur vipro jagāma sadyo gīṣṭaḥ[83]
santatam ānatyarthaṃ nirataḥ kṛṣṇasya bhaktimān atyartham |61

adya nikāmam aho mā smarāmi dhanyaṃ phalādhikā mama homāḥ
īkṣaṇamaham āyāmi prabhor vapur yat praṇantum aham āyāmi |62

iti hṛdayāt sattvarataḥ kṛṣṇaṃ sa janārdano 'bhyayāt satvarataḥ
praṇato 'sau hārdena prabhuṇāśliṣṭaś ca paramasauhārdena |63

dānavanāśaka deva tvaṃ[84] haṃsa iti praṇadya[85] nāśakad eva
vaktuṃ śāsanam asya sthitaś ca bāṣpāndhayā dṛśā sanamasyaḥ[86] |64

viditaṃ pāpe tasya[87] sthitasya vacanaṃ mama trapāpetasya
sātyakir uttaram asya vyākhyātā mādyato maruttaramasya |65

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69. nihataparamahaṃsantaṃ. 70. paramahaṃsantam. 71. janatāsāhityāgād.
72. saśiṣyasahityā. 'āgāt' is missing in the MS but found in Nit.
73. saniyamamanāmānyaḥ. 74. Nit. kīrtisampadādityebhyaḥ. 75. hṛtatāpāyaminaḥ.
76. prayayuḥ. 77. bhūyogehaṃsa. 78. prasiddhanāmānantam. 79. bhojapade hi.
80. The word is missing in the MS but found in Nit. 81. Nit. dhriyatāṃ.
82. navastu. 83. sadyogīṣṭaḥ. 84. tvāṃ, Nit. tvaṃ. 85. Nit. pragadya.
86. sa namasyaḥ. 87. pāpetasya.

dhāmni viveśaine yaḥ[88] prabhuṇettham amoci śatrave śaineyaḥ
gatvā sātyakir adayaṃ vākchalyair haṃsam añjasātyakirad ayam |66

turagaviḍibhakabalānāṃ tanmūlaḥ[89] tadanu haṃsaḍibhakabalānām
kalaho 'jani jagadavatā hariṇā hārdikyarāmaśinijagadavatā |67

anugatapuṇḍrakaliṅgau bhaktau tau bhāsmanatripuṇḍrakaliṅgau
ceratur udrasamānau haṃso ḍibhakaś ca tatra rudrasamānau |68

haravarasambhūtābhyāṃ prottasthe tatra sarabhasaṃ[90] bhūtābhyām
tau tuhinābhogasya prasthe cikṣepa padmanābho 'gasya |69

samare 'śaṅkaravaratas tasmin haṃso 'nujaś ca śaṅkaravarataḥ
api hantuṃ sehe na[91] prabhuṇā śastreṇa bādhituṃ sehena |70

tatra vivekenāpi prabhus tato vitatham āhave kenāpi
ujjhitadehaṃ santaṃ śrāvitavāṇ[92] ḍibhakam āpade haṃsaṃ tam[93] |71

snigdhatamo[94] hīnāśaṃ ḍibhakaḥ śrutvāgrajasya mohī nāśam[95]
śritayamunodakarājiḥ svatanuṃ tatyāja śatrunodakarājiḥ |72

kṛtakalahaṃ senāpi projjhya balaṃ tan niśamya haṃsenāpi
pṛthuyamunāvāryantaḥ praviśya tatraiva pāpināvāry antaḥ |73

tat tatkālopāyasthāyī[96] khalv ahitapaṭalikālopāya[97]
dvāravatīm āyātaḥ prabhur iti nihatāsuraḥ kṛtī māyātaḥ[98] |74

sthānam apārāv āra svāmī parikhā ca yatra pārāvāraḥ
na jarāsandhenāpi dvāravatī harivadhaikasandhenāpi |75

yasyām ānakapaṭahā nedur yadbhaṭajano 'rimānakapaṭahā[99]
dhanapatisamarāyas tā janatā yatrāhitāś ca samarāyastāḥ |76

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[88] viveśaineyaḥ. [89] turagavi ḍibhakabalānāntanmūlaṃ, Nit. ... tanmūlaḥ.
[90] sarasasaṃ, Nit. sarabhasaṃ. [91] sehena. [92] śrāvitavan. [93] āpadehaṃ santam.
[94] snigdhasamo, Nit. snigdhatamo. [95] mohīnāśam. [96] Nit. tatkālopāyasmārī.
[97] ahitapāṭalikālopāya. [98] kṛtīmāyātaḥ. [99] yadbhaṭajanorimānakapaṭahā.

kramaṇīyā kau ver yā[100] garuḍasyevāśritā śriyā kauberyā
ālolapatākāntā[101] kuhacit pañjaraśukena[102] lapatā kāntā |77

surabhir navadhūpālyā vibhūṣitapathā ca śobhanavadhūpālyā
sphuritā nānāvāpyā yā puṇyavihīnajantunā nāvāpyā |78

yadupavanaṃ upāśritatṛṭkṣudrogacchedayoni ketakavāṭam[103]
yan nāsuraloko 'pi[104] kṣudro gacched ayoniketakavāṭam |79

sa viśvakarmanirmite pure pureva vaiṣṇave
uvāsa vāsavānujaḥ sukhaṃ sukhaṇḍitāsuraḥ |80

iti caturthāśvāsaḥ[105]

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[100] kauveryā.

[101] ālolapatā kāntā.

[102] pañcaraśukena.

[103] āśritatṛṭ kṣudro gacchedayo niketakavāṭam, Nit. upāśrita ...

[104] nāsuralo 'pi.

[105] caturtha āśvāsaḥ.

atha pañcamāśvāsaḥ[1]

atha ripubhūpālasyapradāyino[2] bhīṣmakasya bhūpālasya
samajani duhitā rambhāstambhoruḥ kācanāmṛduhitārambhā |1

sadguṇasādhī yasyā[3] bhrātā rukmī babhūva sādhīyasyāḥ[4]
tyaktakalaṅkanyāyā[5] vikhyātā rukmiṇīty alaṃ kanyā yā[6] |2

svaguṇair adhikā mānyā tridaśāṃś ca cakāra sutanur adhikāmān yā
yām[7] ekām avatāraṃ śriyo vidur amācyutena[8] kāmavatāram |3

ghanamecakam ekāntaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ sā rukmiṇī ca cakame kāntam
anurūpaṃ cakrī tāṃ kāmayate sma ca guṇaprapañcakrītām |4

ubhayor nodīkṣaṇataḥ śravaṇena guṇasya dhairyanodī kṣaṇataḥ[9]
vavṛdhe kāmas tu tayoḥ śriyo 'cyutasya ca janair nikāmastutayoḥ |5

tatra jarāsandhārī rukmiṇam etyābravīt tvarāsandhārī
deyā śiśupālāya svasā tvayā rukmiṇī na paśupālāya |6

iti sādaram uktena pratiśrutaṃ rukmiṇā ca daramuktena
caidye dānaṃ tena svasur iṣṭāyāḥ svayaṃ tadānante na[10] |7

tadanu mahāvaravapuṣaṃ caidyaṃ saṃgṛhya paramahāvaravapuṣam
kuṇḍinapuram āyāsīd[11] drutaṃ jarāsandha eṣa paramāyāsī |8

manaso vakrād yantaṃ krūratvaṃ pauṇḍradantavakrādyaṃ tam[12]
viṣṇor avamānaiṣī drutam eṣa janaṃ sasainyaravam[13] ānaiṣīt |9

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1. pañcama āśvāsaḥ. 2. ripubhūpālasya pradāyino. 3. sadguṇasādhīyasyā.
4. sā dhīyasyāḥ. 5. tyaktakalaṃ kanyāyā. 6. kanyāyā. 7. yam.
8. amā cyutena. 9. dhairyanodīkṣaṇataḥ. 10. tadā nantena.
11. āyāsīt. 12. pauṇḍradantavakrādyantam. 13. sa sainyaravam.

smṛtaparasenāradataḥ śrute vivāhe 'tra suvirase nāradataḥ
satvaram atrāsīdan nātho yatrārisainyam atrāsīdam |10

avalokanyā purataḥ sakhyā saha rukmiṇī ca kanyāpurataḥ
kuladaivārādhanyā budhyā niriyāya saparivārā dhanyā |11

raṇabhuvi sutarām agadaiḥ sārdhaṃ śaineyahṛdikasutarāmagadaiḥ[14]
satvaram atrāsādya svāmī tām ahṛta sutanum atrāsādyaḥ |12

taṃ rurudhuḥ śauryarayasphītā māgadhapurassarāḥ[15] śauryarayaḥ
nyasya tato baladevaprabhṛtiṣu taṃ bhāram acyuto 'valad eva |13

tair api baladevādyai raṇe raṇadbhiś ca darpabalade vādyaiḥ[16]
sarve vikramahīnāḥ kṛtā jarāsandhacaidyavakramahīnāḥ |14

atha raṇanarmaṇi rukmī nipuṇo yatsyandanaḥ punar maṇirukmī[17]
haraye jāmiharaṇataś cukopa bhaṅgāc ca bhūbhṛtām iha raṇataḥ |15

svapuram arātim ahatvā dhruvaṃ na yāmīti[18] matsarātimahatvāt[19]
cakre sandhānena prabhuś ca rurudhe sacāpasandhānena |16

harir akṛtāvanipatitaṃ cūrṇitarathasārathiṃ hatāvanipati tam[20]
prāpa ca ramayāmā sa[21] svapuraṃ svajanaṃ tathaiva ramayām āsa |17

atha nijabalahānighnāt tasmād yo vīryatulitabalahā[22] nighnāt
mukhaparibhūtāmbhojau prasenasatrājitāv abhūtāṃ bhojau |18

bhaktyā tanvānena praṇatiṃ satrājitā vitanvānena
muditamatāv aryamaṇi syamantako 'lābhi[23] matimatā varyamaṇiḥ[24] |19

bhrātre sa hi taṃ[25] samadān mṛgān, atha ghnantam aśvasahitaṃ
samadān
dadhataṃ sāsiṃ hastaṃ prasenam avadhīd vane 'ñjasā siṃhas tam |20

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14. śaineya hṛdikasutarāmagadaiḥ. 15. śauryaraya sphītāmāgadhapurassarāḥ.
16. darpabaladevādyaiḥ. 17. muṇi rukmī. 18. nayāmīti. 19. matsarāti mahatvāt.
20. hatāvanipatitam. 21. saḥ. 22. vīryatulitavalahā. 23. 'lambhi.
24. matimatāvaryamaṇiḥ. 25. sahitaṃ.

taṃ maṇim ādāyāntaṃ nītvā harim ṛkṣapa āśramād āyāntam
krīḍāsu kumārāya prādād arhaṃ sutāya sukumārāya |21

yaḥ kṛtavān usravati śriyaṃ parāṃ kāñcanasya vānusravati
bhārān aṣṭāv adhikaṃ yo 'haraho yasya dhāma naṣṭāvadhikam |22

tasmin nāśaṃ kānte yāte saha nighnasūnunāśaṅkāṃ te[26]
yaduvīrā gatamāye[27] kṛṣṇe 'dhur tatra[28] vigatarāgatamā ye[29] |23

śuddhatayā sahitāntaḥkaraṇo 'py abhiśaṃsayā tayā sa hi tāntaḥ[30]
bilam ahidhāmasadṛkṣaṃ mṛgayan ratnaṃ jahe 'rkadhāma sadṛkṣam[31] |24

dhṛtakodaṇḍeṣur ataḥ svapuram agād augato 'ridaṇḍeṣu rataḥ
svajanaḥ kuharāviṣṭe katicid ahāni pratīkṣya tu harāv iṣṭe |25

harir āpe tatrāsau jāmbavatā jhaṭiti tāv apetatrāsau
balatulitāmarasenau suniyudhyete priyāsyatāmarasenau |26

atha tarasā damayantaṃ nijabalam atyalpam api na sādam ayantam[32]
viṣṇuṃ vikramaśastaṃ matimān bubudhe sa raṇabhuvi kramaśas tam |27

kinnarakaṇṭhī ravataḥ[33] kanyā yā[34] tām adāt sa kaṇṭhīravataḥ[35]
avivekītanayāya[36] prāptaṃ ratnaṃ ca devakītanayāya |28

sa nitambavatīnām[37] apratimām anayat puraṃ sabhāryaṃ sāmbam
sā jāmbhavatī nāma prāsoṣṭa sutaṃ ca yadusabhāryaṃ sāmbam |29

atha satrājita eva nyadadād ratnaṃ harir babhāra mudaṃ saḥ
api tatrājita evaṃ nirāsthad ayaśo 'bhidhānabhāram udaṃsaḥ |30

labdhamahāsāramaṇī rājā svasutām adhāt tridhāmne tarasā
adāt
sā mṛduhāsā ramaṇī rukmiṇyāsīt samā svadhāmnetarasā |31

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26. nighnasūnunā śaṅkānte. 27. yaduvīrāgatamāye. 28. yatra, Nit. tatra.
29. vigatarāgatamāye. 30. sahitāntaḥ. 31. 'rkadhāmasadṛkṣam.
32. nasādam ayantam, Nit. nādam ayantam. 33. kinnarakaṇṭhīravataḥ. 34. kanyāyā.
35. sakaṇṭhīravataḥ. 36. avivekī tanayā ya. 37. sanitambavatīnām.

sā pravarābhavad asya prāṇasamā vairiṇāṃ parābhavadasya
bhāryā bhāmānām apratimā kṛṣṇasya satyabhāmā nāma |32

anyāḥ pañca tv asya[38] priyā babhūvuḥ kṛtāripañcatvasya
svargagatāmarasadṛśaśriyo harer bhūgatasya tāmarasadṛśaḥ[39] |33

madhurarave rejāte bhīṣmakasatrājitoḥ[40] sute jāyāsu
vijitakubere[41] jāte kule dhanais sa hi[42] ratas sutejā yāsu[43] |34

rucim adhikām aparāsu prakurvatīṣv api satīṣu kāmaparāsu
vikhyāte jāye te[44] dve eva hareś ca sammate jāyete |35

atha harir atyantaratas tadgehe toṣitaś ca ratyantarataḥ
anurāgād itayā rukmiṇyā rahasi kalagirāgādi tayā[45] |36

yadi tu kṛpāleśasya svānte[46] padam akhilalokapāleśasya
mahitatamārambhartasvarūpa bhavato[47] 'rthaye kumāraṃ bhartaḥ |37

ittham udārahasitayā rukmiṇyā vigadito mudā rahasi tayā
viṣvakseno vācas[48] smitapūrvaṃ rukmiṇīṃ rasenovāca |38

svarvāsaṃ satsutataḥ prāpnoti yaśaś ca sādhusaṃsatsu[49] tataḥ
prekṣya paraṃ tapasāraṃ rudraṃ lapsye sutaṃ parantapasāram |39

iti bhajate yena vinā jagat kṣayaṃ tena vainateyena vinā
hantrā tāvad arīṇāṃ pravarā samprāpi bhagavatā badarīṇām |40

dūratamāgastyajanā vasiṣṭhajamadagnigautamāgastyajanāḥ
kṛtasevā gaṅgāyāṃ sevante niyatabuddhivāgaṅgā yām[50] |41

atha naranārāyaṇayoḥ sthāne tasmiñ[51] jagattrayaparāyaṇayoḥ[52]
tasthau sadyogatayā harir dhiyā saṃyamaṃ ca sadyo gatayā[53] |42

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38. pañcatvasya. 39. bhūgatasyatāmarasadṛśaḥ. 40. bhīṣmaka satrājitoḥ.
41. vijita kubere. 42. sahi. 43. sutejāyāsu. 44. jāyete. 45. kalagirāgāditayā.
46. syāṃ te, Nit. svānte. 47. mahitatamārambhartasvarūpabhavato.
48. vāca. 49. sādhu saṃsatsu. 50. niyatabuddhivāgaṅgāyam.
51. tasmin. 52. jagatrayaparāyaṇayoḥ. 53. sadyogatayā.

atha sahasā niśi tena smaratā[54] svaṃ dhāma cetasā niśitena
āttavivekasyāpi[55] krūrasya ravas tu śuśruve kasyāpi[56] |43

kva khalu tamālasamānaṃ paśyeyaṃ paramapuruṣam ālasamānam
kṣmā prādurbhūtena pralaghur abhūd yena śamitadurbhūtena |44

astu namo dayitāya śriyo 'vatāraiḥ samastamodayitā yaḥ
yena bhuve 'dānavatā matsyo bhūtvāpy adāyi vedān avatā |45

yaḥ kṛtakacchapadehaḥ kṣitidharam udadhād[57] dhutābdhikacchapadehaḥ
yasya ca durvārāhaṅkṛtidaityaharaṃ vapur[58] vidur vārāham |46

kopabharād aripūrakṣodakarair yo nakhai rarāda ripūraḥ
ahnāya mame yena tribhir eva padair jagattrayam ameyena |47

yo 'kṛta paraśugrahaṇaṃ rāvaṇanidhanād vyadhāc ca paraśugrahaṇam
lāngalam asurāpāyi prabibhratā yena cottamasurāpāyi |48

yena ca pāvitam udaraṃ devakyā yaś ca gāḥ papāv itamud aram
yena ca kalitaraṇena kṣitir viśodhyā vitīrṇakalitaraṇena[59] |49

yatitatikāraṇabhūtaḥ pramiter yam upaiti[60] sakalakāraṇabhūtaḥ
kāṃ diśam āpa kva nu taṃ paśyeyaṃ paramapuruṣam āpakvanutam[61] |50

kaṣṭā majjātir asāv atimātraṃ[62] jantumāṃsamajjātirasā[63]
mām adhikaṃ pālayatā nalinākṣeṇāśritānukampālayatā[64] |51

hṛtatāpaṃ kārtārthyaṃ svacchajñānena mohapaṅkārtārthyam[65]
kṛṣna samun me dehi vyatītakālaṃ mayā samunmede hi[66] |52

iti nutibhāg[67] avatānān nijabhāgyānāṃ varas sa bhāgavatānām[68]
kurvan viprāpāyaṃ ghaṇṭākarṇas tam agrabhuvi[69] prāpāyam |53

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[54] smaratāṃ. [55] Nit. ātmavivekasyāpi. [56] tasyāpi, Nit. kasyāpi.
[57] adadhād, Nit. udadhād. [58] vapu. [59] viśodhyāvatīrṇakalitaraṇena, Nit. ... vitīrṇakalitaraṇena. [60] Nit. vetti. [61] āpa kva nu tam. [62] asātimātraṃ.
[63] jantu māṃsa majjātirasā. [64] Reconstructed after Nit. The MS reading is utterly corrupt: mām adhikaṃ pālayatā nnalinā kṣo 'smy anugato nukampālayetām.
[65] mohapaṅkārtā rthyam. [66] samunmedehi. [67] ity atibhāg, Nit. iti nutibhāg.
[68] bhāgyavatānām. [69] agabhuvi.

sa ca punar astādyantaṃ paraṃ pumāṃsaṃ sthitiṃ purastād yantam
atyabhirāmaṃ janataḥ praikṣiṣṭa śyāmam atitarām añjanataḥ |54

eṣa mahāhīhāhā[70] kṛṣṇo govinda eva hā hī hāhā[71]
iti sa na nartanamasyaḥ[72] śrīśasya puras tatāna nartanam[73] asya |55

sa ca punar āśubhrāntaḥkaraṇaḥ samprāpya kṛṣṇam āśu bhrāntaḥ
nihatād[74] viprād āttaṃ piśitaṃ prabhave naman bhuvi prādāt tam |56

sa vibhur asannode 'vasthāyy atra[75] tathābhavat prasanno devaḥ
tena yathākṣālyantaḥsthitāny[76] aghāny asya sarvathākṣālyanta |57

stutisamavetā lapati[77] svargisamūhe giraḥ sa vetālapatiḥ[78]
tata evāyatanagatas sahasaiva babhūva vaiṣṇavāyatanagataḥ |58

kalmaṣanāśāya divaḥ prāptyai muktyai ca kācanāśā yadi vaḥ[79]
tarasaiva varākā re[80] bhaktirasaṃ bhajata vaiṣṇavavarākāre |59

prāpe nitambadarītaḥ kamraṃ kailāsaparvataṃ badarītaḥ
tatrātapaseviṣṇus tasthau rudraṃ praṇamya tapase viṣṇuḥ |60

kamaladṛśi śirasi tasya sthitavati nāthe nagasya śiśirasitasya
satvaram āyād[81] eva svāminam ūce ca patir umāyā devaḥ |61

kim idaṃ vaikuṇṭha tvaṃ[82] kuruṣe kārye tava kva vai kuṇṭhatvam
nanu tava līlālasitaṃ vahasi yad aṅgaṃ vanasthalīlālasitam |62

sutajananāśā yadi te śrīdhara mattas[83] tu vaṃśanāśāya diteḥ[84]
tubhyaṃ varadāyādaḥ kṛtaṃ mayā kalpitaś ca varadāyādaḥ |63

kvāpi ca hetāv adahaṃ purā smaraṃ nayanahutavahe tāvad aham
api punar atyarthanatas tajjanane bhūya eva ratyarthanataḥ |64

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[70] mahāhī hā hā. [71] hā hā. [72] sananartanamasyaḥ. [73] tatā nanartanam.
[74] nihatāt. [75] 'vasthāyī tatra, Nit. ... atra. [76] yathākṣālyantaḥ. sthitāny.
[77] stutisamavetālapati. [78] savetālapatiḥ. [79] kācanāśāyadivaḥ. [80] varākāre.
[81] ayād, Nit. āyād. [82] vaikaṇṭhatvaṃ, Nit. vaikuṇṭha tvam.
[83] śrīdharamattas. [84] vaṃśanāśāyaditeḥ.

niṣahante hanta na yaṃ[85] jaganti[86] tam amuṃ dadāmi te 'haṃ tanayam
rakṣitavipradyumnaḥ sa bhaven nāmnā śruto bhuvi pradyumnaḥ |65

iti sa paramaharṣibhyaḥ prāptebhyaḥ praṇatitatparamaharṣibhyaḥ
śambhur atho paramārthaṃ nyagadat sandehaduṣpathoparamārtham[87] |66

trayyupapādyaṃ tattvaṃ paramaṃ dhāmaiṣa dadhad apādyantatvam[88]
sāraṃ caitanyasya sthitā yatīndrāḥ svahṛtsu caitan nyasya[89] |67

satataṃ mā sannamata svayam enaṃ sthāpayeyam āsannam ataḥ
vacmi ca pṛthag acchatamā gamyo 'yaṃ gamakabhūtam avagacchata mā[90] |68

iti nijavāsāyātaḥ svāmī praṇigadya kṛttivāsā yātaḥ
vegenāgād agataḥ punar api badarīṃ haris sa nāgādagataḥ[91] |69

atha kailāsanagāya svāmini gatavati jagadvilāsanagāya
dvāravatīm āyāsīt sa pauṇḍrako[92] yasya balavatī māyāsīt |70

kukkurabhojanarasadas sa jaghāna rurodha rāmayuyudhānau[93] ca
kukkurabhojanarasadas samaras teṣāṃ babhūva lokakṣayakṛt |71

pauṇḍrakam āyata tāvat[94] kṛṣṇo 'pi vikṛṣya cāpam āyatatāvat
īritabhāsuracakraś cakarta cainaṃ hṛtaprabhāsuracakraḥ |72

labdhasvasamāpatyaḥ sthāṇoḥ svagṛhaṃ kṣaṇād iva samāpatya
devyai kathayām āsa svakathāṃ kṛṣṇaḥ piśācakathayāmā[95] saḥ |73

ajani ca tasyāṃ tasya[96] pradyumno nāma ripuśatasyāntasya
janitotsavabhūveṣṭaḥ putro jagato hareś ca sa babhūveṣṭaḥ[97] |74

arivargehāntarataḥ śambara uddhṛtya vairigehāntarataḥ
tam udadhitoyasyāntaś cikṣepa sa eva hi śruto yasyāntaḥ |75

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[85] hantanayaṃ. [86] jagati, Nit. jaganti. [87] sandeha duṣpatho paramārtham.
[88] apādya ntatvam. [89] svahṛtsu caita nyasya, Nit. svahṛtsu hitaṃ nyasya.
[90] avagacchatamā. [91] sanāgādagataḥ. [92] sapauṇḍrako.
[93] rāma yuyudhānau. [94] āyatatāvat. [95] piśāca katheyāmā.
[96] tasyāntasya. [97] sababhūveṣṭaḥ.

tam urutaporantā yaḥ śrutvā[98] nāradamune ripor antāya
magnam avāk kaivartā jagṛhur jālena nāptavāk kaivartā |76

ahnāya sa dāśebhyaḥ[99] savidham[100] agān matsyavikrayasadāśebhyaḥ
jāyāmāyāvatyā[101] ratyā evāsurasya māyāvatyāḥ |77

sutam iva tāvat santaṃ vyavardhayat kāmam abhimatā vatsaṃ tam[102]
sā ca punaḥ svaṃ kāntaṃ vyabodhayad vyaktam ātmanaḥ svaṃkāntam[103] |78

śrutvā ratyāś caryāṃ saṅkruddhaḥ kusumaketur atyāścaryām
kṛtvā māyāsamaraṃ śambaram avadhīd dadhānam āyāsam aram |79

paripuṣkalabhā ratyā[104] samanvitaḥ kāma eṣa kalabhāratyā[105]
santatam ātāpitarau samāsadad[106] bhūya eva mātāpitarau |80

sūnur ajany aniruddhas tasyāpi kadācid apy ajanyaniruddhaḥ
rukmijatanayā tena priyopayeme tadāyatanayātena |81

tatra ca devanarāgaḥkartā[107] rukmī hatas sa devanarāgaḥ
muktāphalakāntena dyūte halinā tadīyaphalakāntena |82

api gharmāpady[108] amunā vyākṛṣṭā kuṭilabhāvam[109] āpad yamunā
kṛtakolāhalakoṭyā tadvidhutā kurupurī calā halakoṭyā[110] |83

jagadabhirāmeṇāpi prāṇasamā revatīti rāmeṇāpi
prāpyantāpatyajanās tasyāṃ tenāpi dattatāpatyajanāḥ |84

iti prabhor mahākulaṃ mahākulaṃ mahātmanaḥ
priyais sutais surājitaṃ surājitaṃ vivavṛdhe |85

[iti pañcamāśvāsaḥ]

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[98] śrutayā, Nit. śrutvā. [99] sadāśebhyaḥ. [100] savidhād, Nit. savidham.
[101] jāyā māyāvatyā. [102] abhimatāvatsantam. [103] svaṃ kāntam.
[104] paripuṣkalabhāratyā. [105] kalabhā ratyā. [106] samasad, Nit. samāsadat.
[107] devanarāgaḥ kartā. [108] dharmāpady, Nit. gharmāpady. [109] kuṭila bhāvam.
[110] calāhalakoṭyā.

atha ṣaṣṭhāśvāsaḥ[1]

atha punar akṣatimatyā pṛthivīṃ puruṣottame 'tra[2] rakṣati matyā[3]
sañjāto daiteyaḥ svatejasā rodasī tutodaite yaḥ[4] |1

jagatāṃ yo nirmātā hariḥ pitā bhūś ca sakalayonir mātā
yasya ca narakopam atisthiraś caran yaḥ śrutaś ca narako 'pamatiḥ[5,6] |2

yasyā na garīyasyaḥ[7] puryaḥ prāgjyotiṣaṃ ca nagarī yasya
sthitikṛt pātālasya sphuṭaṃ udare yo 'ridattapātālasyaḥ |3

so 'hṛta[8] kanyāsārthaṃ digbhyas tāsāṃ[9] tato 'dhikaṃ[10] nyāsārtham
maṇimayabhūtalayogaḥ[11] kṛto 'munātraiva[12] sakalabhūtalayo 'gaḥ[13] |4

tatra śubhā vinyastā bhāryāḥ puruṣottamasya bhāvinyas tāḥ
jātā jāyātvāya[14] sthitaḥ kṣitau janmagatarajā yātvā yaḥ[15] |5

svaratham sadyojayatā samare saṅkrandanaṃś[16] ca sadyo jayatā[17]
divi durjananītena dyusadāṃ hṛtakuṇḍalā ca jananī tena |6

prahitaḥ suramātrā tu śrīśasya puraṃ sametya suramātrātuḥ
śakras sannarakāntaṃ prāpitavān pītavāsasaṃ narakāntam[18] |7

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1. ṣaṣṭha āśvāsaḥ. 2. puruṣottametra. 3. rakṣatimatyā.
4. tutodaiteyaḥ. 5. narakopamatiḥ
6. Nit. has a different reading which I have tried to reconstruct:
jagatāṃ yo nirmātā hariḥ pitā bhūś ca yasya sakalayonir mātā
yaṃ ca narakaṃ paruṣaṃ yudhi āhur dattanarakamparuṣam
7. nagarī yasyaḥ. 8. Nit. ahata. 9. digbhya stāsāṃ. 10. tatodhikaṃ.
11. maṇimaya bhūtalayogaḥ. 12. kṛtomunātraiva. 13. sakalabhūtalayogaḥ.
14. jātājāyātvāya. 15. janma gatarajāyātvāyaḥ. 16. saṅkrandanañ.
17. sadyojayatā. 18. pītavāsasannarakāntam.

atha sapadi virājaṃ taṃ[19] sarāmasatyo 'dhiruhya[20] divi rājantam
nagaraṃ nārakam[21] āpat prabhus tadā dānavaṃ tu[22] nāra kam[23] āpat|8

tatra tatakṣur apāśās surapaṅktīr vidadhatas tataḥ kṣurapāśāḥ[24]
avajānānā murajā janārdanaṃ vādyamānanānāmurajāḥ[25] |9

teṣāṃ bhāsurapāśāś cakranikṛttāḥ kṣatāśubhāsurapāśāḥ
gāṃ jagmur asūn ūnān nātho[26] 'mīṣāṃ cakāra[27] murasūnūnām |10

atha ruṣitataraḥ sveṣu dhvasteṣu suteṣu mūrcchitatarassv eṣu
kṛṣṇam abhisasāra muraḥ śarair akṛntac ca kaustubhi sasāram[28] uraḥ |11

kruddhataro 'hitadārikṣuramālaṃ[29] śikhiśikhāprarohi[30] tadāri
krūrākāram urasy akṣate[31] nimagnaṃ hariś cakāra murasya |12

tvaritam ihāsāv anyān nipātya ca mahāsurāñ jahāsāvanyām[32]
dharaṇisutenetena[33] krodhaṃ kṛṣṇo raṇaṃ vitene tena |13

sadṛśīṃ helāṃ galinā dadhatā rāmeṇa vigrahe lāṅgalinā
adhikam arīṇāṃ tāni[34] pracakrire maṇḍalāny arīṇāntāni |14

arivikramahānikarair vidārayan dāruṇaiḥ śaramahānikaraiḥ
sadhanus sannamayantaṃ narakaḥ kṛṣṇaṃ cakāra sannam ayaṃ tam[35]|15

satyā sanne[36] 'tra harau yuyudhe dadhatī bhujau ca sannetraharau
sā viditā nanu tasya pravarā śaktis trayīvitānanutasya[37] |16

atha sujanopāsyatamaś cakreṇa ripuṃ janārdano 'pāsya tamaḥ[38]
pāpasya ca kartāraṃ vairasya ca tatkṣaṇena nicakartāram |17

[19] virājantaṃ.
[20] sarāmasatyodhiruhya.
[21] nagarannārakam.
[22] dānavantu.
[23] nārakam.
[24] tatakṣurapāśāḥ.
[25] vādyamāna nānā murajāḥ.
[26] ūnā nnātho.
[27] Nit. vyadhāt.
[28] kaustubhisasāram.
[29] 'hitadāri kṣuramālaṃ.
[30] śikhi śikhā prarohi.
[31] krūrākāramurasya kṣate.
[32] cāsurān mahāsāvanyām, Nit. ... jahāsa ... avanyām.
[33] dharaṇi sutenetena.
[34] arīṇāntāni.
[35] ayantam.
[36] satyāsanne.
[37] trayīvitā nanu tasya.
[38] pāsyatamaḥ.

hṛdayena sutāntena kṣoṇī kupiteva kiñcana sutāntena
pravarāpatyād ātte patye maṇikuṇḍale nipatyādāt te |18

aridhāmani yat[39] tāvat draviṇaṃ hariṇādhigaruḍam aniyattāvat
saṅghas sa samāro[40] 'pi strīṇāṃ maṇiparvataś ca sa samāropi[41] |19

tena ca lasamānena[42] prabhur eṣa garutmatācalasamānena
kṛtasādam arāv atyāścaryaṃ paryantam āpad amarāvatyāḥ |20

paranindāyā[43] dityai nirataḥ kuṇḍalayugaṃ pradāyādityai
devavasatyārāmaśriyaṃ[44] tato dṛṣṭavān sasatyārāmaḥ |21

sa surasabhāmānanataḥ[45] prārthanam āsādya satyabhāmānanataḥ
ahṛta tadā nandanataḥ kalpakavṛkṣaṃ haris tadānandanataḥ |22

ripuvargaruḍantena sthāpitam ālokya cādhigaruḍaṃ tena[46]
kalpataruṃ dhanyaṃ taṃ[47] girā hariṃ rakṣiṇo nyarundhan[48] yantam |23

hartuṃ nandanayātaḥ ko 'lam adattaṃ pulomanandanayātaḥ
svargālaṅkaraṇam adas taruratnaṃ jagati gatakalaṅkaraṇamadaḥ |24

strī vānyālaṃ[49] kāraṃ voḍhuṃ[50] vajrāyudhapriyālaṅkāram
susurabhimālyaṃ tasya svargataror āttasambhramālyantasya |25

tān sma ca satyāha ratipratimā tarum īśvare 'tra saty āharati[51]
māṃ vā roddhuṃ kāraṃ śaktety uktvā[52] tato 'karod dhuṅkāram |26

te 'dhivasaty āpatyācakhyuḥ[53] śacyai ca devi satyā patyā
nākaṃ sākam itāraṃ svaṃ tava haratīty athāpa sā kamitāram[54] |27

stanabharajaṃ bhārātiśramaṃ vahantyānayā sa jambhārātiḥ[55]
śacyā jagade keśāśritakalpatarusrajeti[56] jagadekeśaḥ[57] |28

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39. aridhāmaniyat. 40. sasamāro. 41. sasamāropi. 42. calasamānena.
43. Nit. sannindāyā. 44. devavasatyā rāmaśriyaṃ. 45. sasurasabhāmānanataḥ.
46. cādhigaruḍantena. 47. dhanyantaṃ. 48. rakṣiṇonyarundhan. 49. strīvānyālaṃ.
50. voḍuṃ. 51. satyā harati. 52. śakte tyuktvā. 53. 'dhivasatyā patyā cakhyuḥ.
54. haratī tyathāpasakamitāram. 55. sajambhārātiḥ.
56. jagadekeśāśritakalpatarusrajeti. 57. Nit. keśāśritakalpatarusrajā trijagadekeśaḥ.

prāpya harati nākam itaḥ kācana patyā kileṣṭaratinā kamitaḥ[58]
tarum amitārambhātiśrīr[59] yathalikā śirodhṛtāraṃ bhāti |29

sākṣād amareśas strīvacanād[60] iti kṛṣṇam etya samare śastrī
saha sa rurodha balena dyusadāṃ kariṇā ca satvaro dhavalena |30

atha samitāv asusādhyaiḥ[61] sadyaḥ saha viṣṇunā jitā vasusādhyaiḥ
aśvimarudraviśākhā devatatiḥ sendudhanadarudraviśākhā[62] |31

hitvā śakraṃ dantisthitaṃ[63] prajagmur diśo daśa krandanti
harim evādhāvanti[64] dyusadbalāny acyuteṣubādhāvanti[65] |32

santrāsād eva valan[66] nirīkṣya śakras tato 'ñjasā devabalam
nirbādhām anyatra prākṣipad iṣusaṃhatiṃ[67] tridhāmany atra |33

garuḍairāvatayātau samayudhyetāṃ harī sarāvatayā tau
astramahānikareṇa kruddhau ghoreṇa śatruhānikareṇa |34

indramukundāsanayoḥ parasparaṃ dīptitulitakundāsanayoḥ
karivinatānandanayoḥ kalaho 'bhūt[68] sakaladevatānandanayoḥ |35

adribhidaṃ śakro 'dhād vajraṃ daśanacchadaṃ dadaṃśa krodhāt
harir api nigṛhītārī[69] ruṣābhavad[70] yuddhamūrdhani gṛhītārī |36

vīkṣya tadā śubhramatiḥ svargijane 'sau[71] ruṣā tad āśu bhramati
prākṣipad adhikaṃsāri dyusatpatiḥ kuliśam etad adhikaṃ sāri |37

tadurasi sampallavavac chrīnilaye[72] kuliśam āyasaṃ pallavavat
prāpatad[73] arihā sa paraḥ pumāṃś ca tasminn[74] amuñcad ari
hāsaparaḥ[75] |38

mitamadasalilakṣaraṇastamberama[76] indra eṣa savilakṣaraṇaḥ
cakriṇy atrāsāraṃ vajraṃ viphalaṃ vilokya tatrāsāram |39

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[58] patyeṣṭaratinākamitaḥ, Nit. ... kila ... [59] amitārambhāti śrīr.
[60] amareśastrī vacanād. [61] samitā vasusādhyaiḥ. [62] sendu dhanadarudraviśākhā.
[63] danti sthitaṃ. [64] evā dhāvanti. [65] acyuteṣu bādhāvanti. [66] evavalan.
[67] Nit. iṣutatiṃ. [68] bhūt. [69] nigṛhātārī. [70] ruṣā bhavad.
[71] The word is missing in the MS but found in Nit. [72] sampallavavat śrīnilaye.
[73] prāpad, Nit. prāpatad. [74] pumānnacāsminn. [75] arihā sa paraḥ.
[76] mitamadasalila kṣaraṇa stamberama.

traste saty āhāsannudi sma śakre vidhāya satyā hāsam[77]
amareśa kratvanna[78] tvaṃ mā bhair bhīmato 'sti śakratvaṃ na[79] |40

tvaṃ prasavāsavamattasphuṭabhṛṅgam agaṃ gṛhāṇa vāsava mattaḥ
taruṇāmā yāhīna[80] dyusadāṃ śacyāḥ padaṃ ca māyāhīna |41

haridārānanavācaḥ śrutvetthaṃ kurvatā surān anavācaḥ
tena ca jagade tattvaṃ buddhvā satye bibharṣi jagad etat tvam |42

tvaṃ vasudhā mānaparā satye saṃrañjitatridhāmānaparā
bhartāyaṃ[81] yasyās te viṣṇur jaṭhare jagattrayaṃ yasyāste |43

rājñā manutanayena priyavratena dvijottamanutanayena
dattā yā tanayebhyaḥ saptabhyaḥ saṃvibhajya yātanayebhyaḥ |44

āttabhayā vai nyāyasthāpanakartre nṛpāya yā vainyāya
pradadāv ārtādīnāṃ vṛttīnāṃ sampadaṃ ca vārtādīnām |45

yā vīrād asurahitāt purā hiraṇyākṣato 'surād asurahitāt
dhṛtasūkaradehena trātānena aribhīprakaradehena |46

prāptavatā balito yā sādrinadīgrāmapattanāvalitoyā
prabhuṇātra mame[82] 'nena tribhiḥ padair avarajena ca mamenena |47

sutavadharodhi[83] vihāya snehaparatvaṃ vyatītarodhivihāyaḥ
yātā narakāntena prītiṃ me 'nena yādya narakāntena |48

sā tvaṃ yogyā vā sā śrīr vā haraṇe 'tiśuddhayogyāvāsā[84]
sā vitatatarorasy[85] akṣate sthitāmuṣya puṣpitataror asya |49

iti vidito[86] haritattvaṃ labdhvā vajraṃ hares tato haritatvam
sa vidadhad ātmani vāsaṃ[87] smaran yayau vṛtrahā tadātmanivāsam |50

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77. satyāhāsam. 78. amareśakratvaṃ nna. 79. 'na' is missing in the MS.
80. yā hīna. 81. bhartā yaṃ. 82. Nit. prabhuṇā pramame. 83. sutavagharodhi.
84. suratnayogyāvāsā, Nit. atiśuddhayogyāvāsā. 85. vitato rasy, Nit. vitatatarorasi.
86. dadhato, Nit. viditaḥ. 87. ātmanivāsaṃ.

suramuniviprahitena prahŗşyatā vajriņā bhuvi prahitena
prāptodadhikacchā yā[88] tvaşţrālamakāri tāvad adhikacchāyā |51

nŗtatişu vinatāsu tataḩ[89] sthitāsu kŗşņo 'varuhya vinatāsutataḩ
vŗşņisabhām ārāmā halinā gŗham eva satyabhāmā rāmā[90] |52

atha vasudevasutena jñātişu sarvaṃ dade hŗtaṃ vasu tena
api ca nitambinyas tā nānāveśmasu yathepsitaṃ vinyastāḩ |53

maņiparvatam atirucite deśe cāsthāpayan mahāmatir ucite
sthitim api kalpanagasya[91] vyadhita[92] sa nijaveśmaketukalpanagasya[93] |54

arişu sadā rasahāyaḩ[94] svāmī şoḍaśasahasradārasahāyaḩ
so 'ramata gŗhī tena[95] svakīyadharmeņa śāśvatagŗhītena |55

atha bhuvi samajany asuraḩ ko 'pi kadācic ca dattasamajanyasuraḩ[96]
dyāṃ gīrvāņonām apratimabalo yaś[97] cakāra bāņo nāma |56

dvişadavanāmakarāņāṃ yasya sahasraṃ babhūva nāma karāņām
śambhoḩ sutatā yena prāptā tapasā vareņa sutatāyena[98] |57

salavaṅkailāsasyasphītānte[99] yatpurī ca kailāsasya
bhujanalasaṃvalitanayaṃ yaṃ ca prāhur mahaujasaṃ balitanayam |58

işţatarājany asya pravarā bāņasya daityarājanyasya
rucirāṅgacchāyoşā[100] nāmnā kanyā na yādŗg acchā yoşā[101] |59

saha samudeśānena[102] krīḍantī śritavanapradeśānena
ruciratarānanasomā kadācid uşayaiksi mandharā na na somā[103] |60

tau bahumānavad anayā smŗtam iti saṃvīkşya śaśisamānavadanayā
madanālasam etādŗg[104] bhartā mama cet tataḩ phalasametā dŗk |61

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88. prāptodadhikacchāyā. 89. vinatāsutataḩ. 90. satyabhāmārāmā.
91. kalpanamasya, Nit. kalpanagasya. 92. vyadhitas.
93. nijaveśma ketu kalpanamasya, Nit. nijaveśmaketukalpanagasya. 94. sadārasahāyaḩ.
95. soramatagŗhītena. 96. cana khalu samajanyasuraḩ, Nit. ... dattasamajanyasuraḩ.
97. gīrvāņo nāma pratimabaloyaś. 98. sutatā yena. 99. salavaṅkailā sasya sphītānte.
100. rucirāṅga cchāyoşā. 101. nayādŗgacchāyoşā. 102. Nit. samádeśānena.
103. uşayaikşimandharānanasomā. 104. etā dŗg.

prāṇasamā jajñe yā devī devasya munisamājajñeyā[105]
tad vivide vastu tayā[106] yat smṛtam uṣayā samastadevastutayā |62

svāpaparām aṅga tvā[107] rātrau harmyaṃ mano'bhirāmaṃ gatvā
bhoktā vāsasi ātte yaḥ puruṣo vallabho yuvā sa syāt te[108] |63

iti punar āgatatoṣā gauryā vacanaṃ niśamya rāgatatoṣā
nijam evāgāt tarasā niveśanam atas tadīyavāgāttarasā |64

atha paramaṃ bālāpan niśi nidrāyāṃ yathārtham ambālāpam
arudat sannavapur uṣā vibudhya cādṛśyamānasannavapuruṣā[109] |65

plutamukhanālīkāṃ[110] tāṃ bāṣpaiḥ provāca kācanālī kāntām[111]
karaṇe lekhānām apratimā[112] citrasya citralekhā nāma |66

śrayataḥ kuṃ bhāṇḍasya[113a] svacchajñānāmṛtasya[113b] kumbhāṇḍasya
śreṣṭhatamā yā tanayā[114] bāṇāmātyasya nityam āyātanayā |67

naṣṭaṃ naḥ śaṃ kuruṣe[115] rudatī tvaṃ ko nu te[116] manaśśaṅkur uṣe
alam iha gopanayeyaṃ tvadduḥkham ahaṃ manojñago 'panayeyam[117] |68

ittham asāv iṣṭatamāḥ śrutvā gāḥ smāha[118] raṃhasāviṣṭatamāḥ
āli mama na sādhyeyaṃ[119] kāryāvāptis tathāpi manasā dhyeyam |69

sudati saromāñcorassthalo[120] niśi prāpya sundaraś coras saḥ
āgamad[121] antarhitatāṃ prāptaḥ pravidhāya mama mudaṃ tarhi tatām |70

tenāsāv iṣṭena[122] tyaktā puruṣeṇa mānasāviṣṭena
cyutam atule khede[123] 'haṃ na dhārayiṣyāmi citralekhe deham[124] |71

guṇamaṇimañjūṣāyās tayeti vacanaṃ niśamya mañjūṣāyāḥ
likhitā nānālokāḥ svacchapaṭe ye[125] jagatsu nānālokāḥ |72

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[105] munisamā jajñe yā. [106] vastutayā. [107] aṅgatvā. [108] sasyātte.
[109] cādṛśyamāna sannavapuṣā. [110] plutamukhanālī kāṃ.
[111] kācanālīkāntām. [112] lekhā nāma pratimā. [113a] kuṃbhāṇḍasya.
[113b] svacchajñānānvitasya, Nit. svacchajñānāmṛtasya. [114] yātanayā.
[115] śaṅkuruṣe. [116] nute. [117] mancjña gopanayeyam. [118] smāharaṃ.
[119] ālimamanasādhyeyaṃ. [120] saromāñcorasthalo. [121] agamad.
[122] tena sā viṣṭena. [123] atulekhede. [124] citralekhedeham. [125] yā.

tasminn acchavicitre prādyumniṃ vīkṣya śobhanacchavicitre
sphuritaṃ nānāmālyair adarśayat sā suśobhanā nāmālyai[126] |73

sā taṃ sadyo gatvā dvāravatīṃ suptam etya sadyogatvāt
adharitasurayoṣāyāḥ pragṛhya padam ānināya surayoṣāyāḥ |74

aramata matimān uṣayā sahitaḥ kāntyā yuto 'yam atimānuṣayā[127]
atra parājñātatayā caraghaṭayābodhi[128] cāsurājñātatayā |75

svakule śaṃ[129] kurvāṇas tac chrutvābhūt[130] sahṛdayaśaṅkur bāṇaḥ
prati ca tam utkośāsiḥ svabalaughas tena raṇasamutko 'śāsi[131] |76

kṣapayām āsa balam adaḥ prāptaṃ pradyumnanandanaḥ sabalamadaḥ
sadhanurbāṇenāpi[132] kruddhadhiyā tatkṣaṇena bāṇenāpi |77

taṃ ca vilambitatānaprāptaṃ vikramya vihvalaṃ vitatāna[133]
tulitasamagrāhitayā śaktyātho śatruṇāyam[134] agrāhi tayā[135] |78

krūrācārakaro 'dhāt prādyumneḥ kleśam asya cārakarodhāt[136]
bāṇas samadoṣāyās tatraiva ca bandham akṛta samadoṣāyāḥ |79

samare durvāratayā kaṇḍūduḥkhaṃ sa tāvad urv āra tayā[137]
yoddhum amṛdvāsthatayā smāha ca śaṅkaram avasthitaṃ dvāssthatayā |80

mama khalu sutarām ahatī raṇakaṇḍūḥ syād yathā na sutarā mahatī
dattaparamahāsam araṃ prayaccha mahyaṃ prabho paramahāsamaram |81

tena tu balijātena prokta iti svapadattabalijātena
bhaktatamohā[138] sa paraḥ puruṣaḥ proce gatabhramo hāsaparaḥ |82

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126. sāsuśo bhanānāmālyai. 127. ati mānuṣayā. 128. caraghaṭayā bodhi.
129. svakuleśaṃ. 130. chrutvā bhūt.
131. raṇasamutsukośasi, Nit. raṇasamutkaḥ ... aśāsi. 132. sa dhanurbāṇenāpi.
133. The reading of line a is given by Nit. The MS reading is:
tasya ca tasthe mahati prathane prādyumninā kṛtasthe mahati.
134. śatruṇā yam. 135. agrāhitayā. 136. cārakaro dhāt. 137. satāvad urvāratayā.
138. bhakta tamohā.

svamukhe śobhāvīte dyutikṛt samaras sukarkaśo bhāvī te[139]
dviṣatām āyūroddhā dhvajaḥ patiṣyati yadaiṣa māyūro[140] 'ddhā |83

iti karuṇāsahitena prokto bāṇaḥ purāriṇā sa hi tena[141]
dhvajabhañjanapātāya[142] spṛhayann āste sma daityajanapātā yaḥ[143] |84

atha paramānavamāyāṃ sthito 'pi[144] saṃvidi dadhat sa mānavamāyām[145]
niśy aniruddhatyāgāt svāmī dainyaṃ[146] dhiyā niruddhatyāgāt |85

yadujanatā paravaśatāṃ[147] prāptavatī yatkṛte satāparavaśatām[148]
tadvāsaṃ yadupāya svayam avadan nāradas sa saṃyadupāyaḥ[149] |86

pakṣivaraṃ sasmāra svāmī prāpto 'pi[150] satvaraṃ sa smāra[151]
sa hṛśīkeśas tena dviṣatpurīṃ tarasi samadhike śastena[152] |87

atibalino haramukhyā yasyā maṇitoraṇair manoharamukhyāḥ
dhṛtacāpaṃ catvāri dvārāṇi papus surās sapañcatvāri |88

sa tadarisaṃyadvāri prāggopuram āpa sarabhasaṃ yaddvāri
rakṣaṇadānavatoṣe niratena maheśvareṇa dānavatoṣe |89

iṣṭāśayaśodhanayos tayos[153] tato balibhuve[154] 'kṛśayaśodhanayoḥ
gatamatidoṣorubhayo[155] raṇotsavo 'bhūd[156] yathaiva doṣor ubhayoḥ |90

jagadabhimatadaivatayor viṣṇoś ca maheśvarasya ca tadaiva tayoḥ[157]
yuddhaṃ surasaṃ ghoraṃ vavṛdhe tatrāsa yatra surasaṅgho 'ram |91

tatra tu sāyakapālīr[158] amucat kṛṣṇāya sarabhasāya kapālī[159]
āpede śālabhyaṃ tattejasi tābhir anyadeśālabhyam |92

īśvaram ājigamiṣavaḥ kṛṣṇasyāpur digantam ājigam iṣavaḥ
bhayadās te 'jasyāpi[160] pralayas tair api tadīyatejasy āpi |93

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[139] bhāvīte. [140] yadaiṣamāyūro.
[141] sahitena. [142] dhvaja bhañjanapātāya. [143] daityajanapātāyaḥ. [144] sthitopi.
[145] samānavamāyām. [146] Nit. daityaṃ. [147] yadujanatāparavaśatāṃ.
[148] Nit. sutāparavaśatām. [149] sasaṃyadupāyaḥ. [150] prāpnoti, Nit. prāpto 'pi.
[151] sasmāra. [152] samadhikeśastena. [153] iṣṭāśaya śodhanayo stayos.
[154] balibhuvo. [155] kṛtamatidoṣorubhayo, Nit. gatamatidoṣorubhayo. [156] bhūd.
[157] tadaivatayoḥ. [158] sāyakapālir. [159] sarabhasāyakapālī. [160] bhayadāstejasyāpi.

itthaṃ samajanyābhyāṃ kṛṣṇena sthāṇunā ca samajany ābhyām
ucitam abhedena nu tau[161] purāṇapuruṣāv ubhau ca vedena nutau |94

tadanu harau droharataḥ kharo jvaro niṣpapāta raudro harataḥ
drutam āpāśu patantaṃ mahājvaro vaiṣṇavaś ca pāśupataṃ tam[162] |95

atha dadhatau samatanutāṃ mahājvarau samarakarma tau samatanutām
ujjvalabhūtikarābhyāṃ jvalitam ubhābhyāṃ parābhibhūtikarābhyām |96

calitā kur vātena jyotiś śaśipāvakau sma kurvāte na[163]
tamasi viveśaivenaḥ sphuṭaṃ jvareṇātra dudruve śaivena |97

atha vibhur anurūpāya svakarmaṇe sa khalu viṣṇur anurūpāyaḥ
astreṇeśānaṃ taṃ vyajṛmbhayal lambhayan gaṇeśānaṃ tam[164] |98

śaraśatamohitakālīvahniguhaḥ[165] puruṣasattamo 'hitakālī
ghanagarjitagīr bāṇaṃ sametya samaraṃ cakāra jitagīrvāṇam |99

sahitam imaṃ ghoratayā bāṇair nirbhidya bāṇam aṅghoratayā
sphuritamahāstyānasya nyakṛntad ariṇā haris sa hastān asya |100

niścayam uccakrodhāt kṛṣṇo bāṇaṃ nihantum uccakro 'dhāt[166]
taṃ smayamāno dayayā śitikaṇṭha uvāca vidyamānodayayā |101

bāṇaṃ mā māpadayaṃ[167] vadhīr amuṃ[168] śaraṇam aṅga[169] mām āpad ayam
iti haram āha vadantaṃ hariḥ sma bhaktapriyārtham āhavadaṃ[170] tam |102

datto hantāyaṃ te[171] yenārcā bhagavato 'nvahaṃ tāyante
mama ca nijaṃ te nāma tvāṃ bhajamānāś ca māṃ bhajante nāma |103

ity asakāv aniruddhaṃ vimocya bhāryāṃ ca cārakāvaniruddham
prayayau sa hi toṣeṇa dvāravatīṃ saha ca tena sahitoṣeṇa |104

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[161] nutau. [162] pāśupatantam. [163] kurvātena. [164] gaṇeśānantam.
[165] śaraśatamohitakālī vahniguhaḥ. [166] bāṇannihantu muccakrodhāt.
[167] māmāpadayaṃ. [168] vadharimuṃ. [169] aḍga. [170] āha vadaṃ.
[171] hantā yante.

so 'viśad ānartanataḥ svapurīṃ śambhoḥ puras tadā nartanataḥ
dānavapatyantena prāptaṃ bāṇena gāṇapatyaṃ tena |105

uddhatakalilakṣmāyāḥ svāmī śodhanakṛd asurakalilakṣmāyāḥ
vṛṣṇipure 'vasad eva svairaṃ vaiṣṇavapure pureva sa devaḥ[172] |106

viṣṇur vipakṣakakṣasya svapadānatayā davaḥ
vijahāra[173] dvāravatyāṃ svapadānatayādavaḥ |107

[iti ṣaṣṭhāśvāsaḥ]

samāptaś cāyaṃ granthaḥ

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172. sadevaḥ. 173. Nit. araṃsta.

Translation and Notes

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THE DAWN OF KṚṢṆA'S LIFE-STORY

Canto One

In order to gain success[1] (in writing this poem), I pay homage to the person[2] of the Supreme Spirit[3] before whom the gods bow down; whose abode is at the end of the ocean[4] and whose excellent true nature is understood by the ascetics; |1

because of whom the multitude of cowherds acquired pure conduct and through whom Pūtanā met with destruction; who, resembling the 'dūrvā' grass[5] (in lustre), held up the mountain[6] and whose extreme fullness (of beauty) the cowgirls drank in with their eyes; |2

whose body is dark as collyrium and at whose birth the earth rapidly[7] began producing riches; who has given assistance to the chariot[8] and who has caused the Kurus to be scattered by him who draws the bow with (his) left hand ('savya-sāci-vyastān').[9] |3

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1. 'sampade'. Nit. explains the word as 'puruṣārthasiddhaye'. I do not think it is necessary to give it this wide meaning as it is a common practice with Sanskrit authors to invoke the 'iṣṭadevatā' in the beginning of a work to be able to complete it successfully.

2. Lit. 'the body'. 3. Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa).

4. The 'kṣīrasamudra' in the centre of which, properly speaking, Viṣṇu is residing.

5. Cynodon dactylon, the Bermuda grass. The older designation found in Sanskrit dictionaries is Panicum dactylon, the Panic grass.

6. This refers to the Govardhana episode.

7. Nit. glosses 'aram' with 'śīghram' ('rapidly'). The European Sanskrit dictionaries record 'aram' as a Vedic word and among the various meanings given by them that of 'rapidly' is not included: 1. 'readily', 'fitly', 'suitably'. 2. 'enough', 'sufficiently' (MW); 1. 'passend', 'gemäss', 'angemessen', 'entsprechend' 2. 'genug', 'hinreichend' (pw); 1. 'passend', 'angemessen', 'gemäss'. 2. 'der Art nach entsprechend' (GRASSMANN, **Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda**); 'passend, genug' / 'readily, enough' (KEWA). 'aram' in all these meanings is most probably related to 'alam' (cf. Vedic 'araṃkṛta' with the classical form 'alaṃkṛta'). The Indian dictionaries, however, include 'rapidly' among the meanings of 'aram': 'swiftly' (APTE); 'śīghram' (ŚKD);

I (also) praise Vyāsa, a garland of good qualities, relying upon whom for support the 'vidyās'[10] have become firmly established; who, being praiseworthy in the 'āgama'[11] has arranged[12] the extremely confused words of the Vedas; |4

'javo 'tha śīghraṃ tvaritaṃ laghu kṣipram araṃ drutam' (AK). In addition 'quickly' is the only recorded meaning for 'aram' in Pali (See **A Critical Pali Dictionary;** cf. also TURNER who in his **A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages** with regard to Sanskrit only records the Vedic usage of 'alam' ('fitly', 'readily'), but records the meaning of 'quickly' in Pali). Rudraṭa has used 'aram' in the sense of 'rapidly' in his **Kāvyālaṃkāra** in an illustration of the 'yamaka' style:

cakraṃ dahatāraṃ cakranda hatāraṃ|
khaḍgena tavājau rājann arinārī||
'"O king! the enemy's wife, who was beaten rapidly by your
sword which (also) had destroyed the army of the enemy,
cried out in the battle."' 3,4.

This verse is quoted by Rājaśekhara in his **Kāvyamīmāṃsā.** Commenting upon 'aram' RENOU remarks "aram: mot inusité en classique" and adds that there is perhaps another instance of it in an inscription from Cambodja (see **La Kāvyamīmāṃsā de Rājaśekhara,** traduite du sanskrit par N. Stchoupak et L. Renou, Paris 1946, p. 166 n. 20). 'aram', however, is frequently used by Vāsudeva with the meaning 'rapidly' (e.g. **Śaurikathodaya** 5,3; 5,49; 6,27; 6,81 and 6,91). For further examples see, e.g. **Yudhiṣṭiravijaya** 4,83:

arilopārtham udāram madīyam astraṃ gṛhāṇa pārtha mudāram|
iti jagadālokagur us tad astram asmai dadau tadā lokaguruḥ||
'"Take this my noble weapon rapidly with pleasure, O Pārtha
(Arjuna)! in order to destroy the enemies." Thus saying, Śiva
('u' is a rare word for Śiva), the teacher of the world, his
eyes being the light of the world, gave him the weapon.'

and **Tripuradahana** 1,7b:

yasmād urvy āpāraṃ prītiṃ yasyāmalaṃ vidur vyāpāraṃ|
'(There was a king) because of whom the earth obtained joy quickly
and whose actions were known to be undefiled.'

The notion of haste is also to be found in the compound word 'aramiṣ' meaning 'hastening near (to help)' (MW), 'herbeieilend' (pw). However, the possibility can not be excluded that 'aram' as used by Vāsudeva could also be given the Vedic meaning of 'readily' though not interpreted in that manner by Nit.

8. This refers to Kṛṣṇa's acting as Arjuna's charioteer in the Mahābhārata war.

9. 'he who draws (the bow) with (his) left hand' is an epithet of Arjuna.

10. There are different opinions as to what is to be understood by the 'vidyās'. Nit. gives two alternatives: 'aṅgāni vedāś catvāraḥ mīmāṃsā nyāyavistāraḥ purānaṃ dharmaśāstraṃ ca vidyās etāś caturdaśa ity uktalakṣaṇāt catuḥṣaṣṭikalā vidyā vā'. That is, the 'vidyās' might be fourteen in number, comprising (a) the six 'vedāṅgas', (b) the four Vedas, (c) the two 'darśanas' Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya, (d) the Purāṇa literature, and (e) the Dharmaśāstra literature, or they might be sixty-four

who was born of Satyavatī and who, during the Kali age, protects the world from the impurity of that (the Kali age); who, with his word inspired by the goddess Sarasvatī, has made the earth free from (its) burden of acquired evils. |5

Victory to the glorious king Rāma[13] who (truly) is a garden for the creepers of poetry who with his shoulder supports the earth – (the earth) with its vices cast off (asta-kali-ilām), (an earth) possessing the beauty[14] of elephant heads. |6

May the good people, while discussing the poet's strengths and weaknesses, show a little mercy concerning this my Śaurikathā, composed in a restrained manner[15] and based upon the conclusions of the learned.[16] |7

(comprising the sixty-four arts). According to others the number is four: (a) 'ānvīkṣikī' (logic and metaphysics), (b) 'trayī' (the three Vedas), (c) 'vārtā' (economics and trading), and (d) 'daṇḍanīti' (the science of politics and government):

ānvīkṣikī trayī vārtā daṇḍanītiś ca śāsvatī (quoted from APTE).

Cf. also **Kirātārjunīya** 2,6a:

catasṛṣv api te vivekinī nṛpa vidyāsu nirūḍhim āgatā |

To these four 'vidyās' Manu adds a fifth 'ātmavidyā' (self-knowledge):

traividyebhyas trayīṃ vidyāṃ daṇḍanītiṃ ca śāsvatīm |
anvīkṣikīṃ cātmavidyāṃ vārtārambhāṃś ca lokataḥ ||

Manusmṛti 7,43.

[11] Nit. glosses 'āgamastavyaḥ' with 'vedena stotavyaḥ' ('praiseworthy in the Veda'). 'āgama' might, however, refer to some larger group of traditional sacred scriptures than the Veda.

[12] Lit. 'has divided'. [13] See Introduction, p. 19.

[14] 'līlā' meaning 'beauty' has an undertone of gracefulness and is used for objects in motion. It occurs frequently in connection with parts of the body (See D. H. H. INGALLS, **Words for Beauty in Classical Sanskrit Poetry**, Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown, New Haven 1962, p. 105).

[15] That is, composed in the 'yamaka' style.

[16] Translating 'śubhaprameyamitāyām' presents considerable difficulties and my rendering 'based on the conclusions of the learned' can only be regarded as a preliminary one. Nit. merely repeats the words of the original. For 'mita' MW gives the meanings 'measured' and 'examined'. APTE adds to these 'built' and 'founded'. The last mentioned meaning suits the context best in my opinion. 'prameya' is a term from logic and, used as a gerundive, it means the course 'to be measured' and also 'to be proved'. As a noun it is translated as 'an object of certain knowledge', 'the thing to be moved' by MW and 'ein Object richtigen Erkenntnis' by pw. APTE adds to these meanings 'a demonstrated conclusion' and 'theorem'. I have chosen 'conclusion' for my translation. I have understood 'śubha' as a noun meaning 'a learned person' while Nit. regards it as an adjective. What the poet wants to say is, I think, that in writing the poem in such a difficult style he has taken advantage of the experience gained by earlier experts on the subject.

Thus, when (her) six very beautiful boys had been killed by (her) brother,[17] Devakī gave birth to a son who had attractive features and (was filled) with hatred for Kaṃsa. |8

At the birth here (on earth) of the Lord of the world, the Apsaras, attracting the eyes of the people, played on the immortal 'vīṇā' and (even) danced on the way of the wind, the moon, and the sun.[18] |9

But Vasudeva, distressed because of the killing of his sons, and with little speed and firmness ('tanu-java-dhairyaḥ'), approached his (newly) born son — the beloved Janārdana who was the end to his fears — and took him up. |10

Then after having made the Supreme Being (Kṛṣṇa) — who is worshipped in the hearts of the good ('sad-āśaya-namitam')[19] — enter Yaśodā's bed, he (Vasudeva) brought (the cowherd) Nanda's daughter — (she who is) the bestower of bliss. |11

Then this girl, being in the 'paryaṅka'[20] position, was seized by Kaṃsa himself who rushed at her immediately after hearing about the birth of an offspring to Vasudeva. |12

To bring about her destruction Kaṃsa threw her (down) without (any) hesitation. (But) that child, freed from affliction, hastened towards heaven crying out loudly "O Lord! |13

"Viṣṇu,[21] he who is your destroyer, has been born in order to slay you — you the slayer of her (Devakī's) sons. Therefore, O Bhoja, I will not kill you now."[22] |14

She (Nanda's daughter), the goddess[23] adorable with conch and discus, went to heaven having become transformed.[24] (But) the haughty Kaṃsa ordered his finest army to kill Kṛṣṇa. |15

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[17] Kaṃsa.

[18] 'pathi samīrasomaravīṇām' is the atmosphere; Nit. 'ākāśe'.

[19] One could also translate it as 'always worshipped in the hearts' ('sadā-āśaya-namitam').

[20] 'paryaṅka' is a squatting position.

[21] 'padmanābha' lit. means 'the lotus-naveled one'.

[22] In translating this verse I have been forced to change the syntactical order of the original.

[23] Nanda's daughter is in reality Viṣṇu's yogic power personified as a goddess, Yogamāyā.

[24] That means assuming her original divine form: 'pūrvarūpaṃ parityajya devatāsvarūpam āśritaya' Nit.

Kaṃsa's ministers Pralamba, Keśin, etc., who were skilful in the science of politics ('nayālokeṣu'),[25] wandered around in the world together with Pūtanā who had hair hanging down and was merciless. |16

Once (when) the Eternal God, who had the form of a boy, had fallen asleep a woman came (to him). She was called Pūtanā and was full of deceit and causing terror in the world. |17

Destroying the vigour and energy of that malignant (person) who was immersed in evil,[26] abiding at a distance[27] and not at all favourable to mercy (kṛpāparatāyāḥ),[28] Hari sucked her breast. |18

On account of the destruction of Pūtanā, the crowd of 'ṛṣis' gained joy and a friendly feeling towards Kṛṣṇa and at the herdsmens' station (ghoṣe) they played with him who by his beautiful behaviour purifies (all) the directions. |19

Again a certain great asura, not giving much thought to his own welfare ('ātma-sampad-anuru-dhyānaḥ'), and devoted to deceit in his mind which was filled with anger, came to that resting, eternal (god). |20

Then that 'dānava' called Śakaṭa (cart),[29] who was clever in piercing bodies and who had resounding wheels, was pushed away by the Lord, who did not lift (him) up but crushed (him) under his lotus-feet. |21

When the cart[30] of the cowherds had been crushed and the people were standing (around) with bewildered minds,[31] the Lord placed (his) hand in his mouth and longing for a drink from (his mother's) breast he started to cry.[32] |22

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[25] 'nayālokeṣu nītiśāstradarśaneṣu' Nit.

[26] Lit. 'affected by the quality of "tamas"'.

[27] 'dūrasthāyā' is simple enough to understand but does not seem to yield much sense here as Pūtanā is very close by.

[28] The compound 'aparata' is only recorded in Nirukta 9,8: 'iriṇe', comm. iriṇaṃ nirṛṇam ṛṇāter apārṇaṃ bhavanty aparatā asmād oṣadhaya iti vā.

[29] 'śakaṭa', lit. 'cart', is declined as a neuter even when referring to the demon by that name.

[30] 'anasi', lit. 'cart', is used here as a synonym of the demon Śakata.

[31] 'nānāmanasi' lit. means 'having various minds'; nānāmanasi vyākulacitte' Nit.

[32] Line b has been restored according to Nit. as the reading of the MS is defective with regard to both 'yamaka' and metre.

Having seen the eternal (god's) face shining like the full moon and resembling the 'kunda'[33] flower with regard to his teeth, (the cowherds) headed by Nanda (all) experienced the same bliss. |23

The Lord, rubbing the lovely courtyard ground ('ghṛṣṭa-śubhājiraraṅgaḥ')[34] with (his) small knees and beautiful hands that put an end to (his) enemies, played in the cowpen full of cow-dung. |24

The child, who was a feast for the eyes[35] with (his) eyes having moving sidelocks[36] that cleansed the sins of the people, was always attractive to all. |25

But Kṛṣṇa, who had acquired a garland of fame, purified the earth with his feet – (feet) that were not used to walking – when (drinking)[37] milk from (his) mother Yaśodā. |26

He (Kṛṣṇa), who does not differ from[38] the sapphire[39] in lustre (and) whose hips (are adorned) with beautiful small bells and whose body is scarred from rubbing against cow-dung, enjoyed himself when going to some part of the forest. |27

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[33] The jasmin Jasminum multiflorum or pubescens.

[34] 'ājira' means 'courtyard'. 'raṅga' usually means 'arena' or 'stage' but is used here with the wider meaning of 'place' or 'area'; Nit. glosses 'raṅga' with 'pradeśa'.

[35] This is a somewhat free rendering of 'prekṣaṇa' in its meaning of 'spectacle'. Nit. merely interprets 'prekṣaṇadātā' as 'darśanapradaḥ'.

[36] Lit. 'kākapakṣa' means 'a crow's wing'. Here it denotes the locks of hair on the temples of small children: 'kākapakṣāḥ śikhaṇḍakāḥ' Nit. Professor G. von Simson has drawn my attention to **Mahābhārata,** Droṇap. 48,17, where the expression 'kākapakṣavṛtākṣaka' forms part of the description of the young Abhimanyu:

upaplutaṃ yathā somaṃ saṃśuṣkam iva sāgaram|
pūrṇacandrābhavadanaṃ kākapakṣavṛtākṣakam||

Abhimanyu's sidelocks are here said to reach down to his collar-bones while some devanāgarī manuscripts read 'kākapakṣavṛtākṣika' instead and thus, like **Śaurikathodaya,** let his eyes be covered by his kākapakṣa. As the South Indian manuscripts read 'kākapakṣavṛtālika' or °ālaka, and āli is also used by Vāsudeva, 'kākapakṣālibhyam', it might be surmised that Vāsudeva is here influenced by the description of Abhimanyu in the South Indian recension of the **Mahābhārata.**

[37] 'piban' is given by Nit. ('stanyaṃ piban') and is required with regard to both the content and the metrical form of the verse.

[38] 'bhid-' in its less common meaning of 'differ from' is construed with the abl.

[39] 'śakramaṇi' means 'sapphire': 'śakramaṇeḥ indranīlaratnāt' Nit. The Sanskrit language with its many possibilities of forming compounds makes it easy for a poet, whenever he wishes, to substitute 'śakra' for 'indra' which has the same meaning. However, compounds with 'śakra-' meaning 'sapphire' are not recorded in the dictionaries. Cf. an instance from **Jānakīharaṇa** 11,100:

That boy, who is (at the same time) the Lord (and) the destroyer of the wicked, wandered about in the forest without putting on clothes — (a forest) not affording protection and abounding in pools of water and many 'śaivāla'[40] plants. |28

"O son, is this lovely foot of yours with small bells at its end not full of scars ('kiṇi')?" Thus (his) mother asked Hari who was running about free from care. |29

Though being held back repeatedly by (his) mother and having played freely in the dust of the ground behaving in a child-like manner ('dadhat śaiśava-jana-nyāyam'), the Primeval Being went to sleep in the forest. |30

With the root of his wing ('pakṣatyā') that was the destroyer of heat, the Master of the birds,[41] who was excessively[42] devoted to play, provided shade for the Lord who was moving about hither and thither in the open air.[43] |31

He went about without protection and around his shining neck a tiger's[44] claw had been bound.[45] He finished (his) sour milk and buttermilk and thus crying he stepped in (all) directions. |32

The group of women, which was enraged by that thief of fresh butter, reaching Yaśodā related in a subdued manner the deed of the unsubdued one (Kṛṣṇa). |33

evaṃ sasmaram antarākṛtagiras tuṅgaṃ giriṃ gaurava-
vyālambāmbudaśakranīlakalaśoddhāntāmbudhautopalam |
rāmasyāvasataḥ sataḥ śrutapayaḥpātakvaṇannirjharam
kālaḥ kālapayodagarjitajitāmbhodhidhvanir niryayau ||

'Thus the time (of the rainy season), the thunder of whose black clouds surpassed the roaring of the ocean, passed for the good Rāma who held back the speech in his mind ('antarakṛtagiraḥ') with loving recollection — Rāma who dwelled on the high mountain (the Mūka mountain) whose rocks were washed by the water ejected from the 'sapphire' pitchers of the clouds that were hanging down due to (excessive) weight and which (the mountain) (also) had a sounding mountain torrent with flowing waterfalls.'

[40] Blyxa octandra, an aquatic plant.

[41] Garuḍa.

[42] 'alam' means 'sufficient', 'able', and 'equal to', according to MW. Furthermore, APTE records the meanings 'greatly' and 'excessively'. Nit. glosses it with 'atyantam'.

[43] This verse follows v. 35 in Nit.

[44] 'tarakṣuḥ vyāghraviśeṣaḥ' ŚKD; 'tarakṣus tu mṛgadānaḥ' AK.

[45] 'anāhi' is pass. aor. of 'nah-'.

(But) then she (Yaśodā), extremely delighted, bound the stomach of him, who is celebrated in the Vedas, to a new mortar. It is because of this (incident) he (Kṛṣṇa) obtained his name Dāmodara.[46] |34

Kṛṣṇa, the destroyer of those with evil minds, dragged that extremely large mortar and brought about the breaking of the two 'arjuna'[47] trees that were standing nearby. |35

Bearing the childhood joke[48] of being caressed by his mother amidst a line of children, he snatched away the hearts of the gopis though he had a small body and lacked broad shoulders. |36

Balabhadra, the foremost of the gods, who alone is auspicious in the three worlds and who was born first[49] by Rohiṇī to Vasudeva ('vasudevād') – the bestower of riches ('dadato vasu') – grew up at his (Kṛṣṇa's) side. |37

Devising means for destroying the enemies and guarding the herds of cows and playing many instruments, the two Primeval Beings roamed about purifying[50] the forest land. |38

Both the forest and the minds of the good people were penetrated by these two boys who were equally worthy of worship, possessing lovely lotus-like faces and whose hair surpassed the 'jambāla'[51] plant (in beauty). |39

These two (boys), who had wiped out many generations of (their) enemies, were shining exceedingly in the forest purifying the world as two visible parts of Viṣṇu, giving much joy to good people of pure minds.[52] |40

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[46] Lit. 'having a rope around one's stomach'.

[47] Terminalia arjuna. Yamala and Arjuna were two sons of Kubera. They were transformed into two 'arjuna' trees because of a curse of Nārada with the promise that they would later be released through Kṛṣṇa. See **Harivaṃsa,** Viṣṇup. 7.

[48] That means, occupying the foremost position among the children.

[49] That is, born before Kṛṣṇa.

[50] The reading of Nit. 'punānau' is perhaps a better one. 'dhunānau' is a form of 'dhu-' which means 'to shake' or 'to agitate'. However, as there might be a connection between 'dhu-' and 'dhāv-' (WHITNEY, **The Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language,** p. 83), the latter root signifying 'to rinse' and 'to purify', 'dhunānau' might be the original reading.

[51] Blyxa octandra; cf. p. 107 n. 40.

[52] 'amalasat' is a curious compound not found in the dictionaries, obviously composed of 'amala' ('pure') and the pres. ptc. of 'as-'. it might refer to persons or things (see p. 125 n. 62).

Then these two lords of a garland of worlds, using multitudes of all kinds of suitable peacock feathers in the arrangement of the hair braided around (their) heads[53] and weaving garlands of forest flowers, entered the huge ('a-dabhram')[54] forest known by the name of Vṛndāvana which was bending down under a wealth of flowers and had branches with hundreds of birds fluttering about due to excessive intoxication ('uru-mada-bhrama-vi-śatām'); |41-42

(the forest which was) difficult of access in some places ('kuhacid')[55] because of heaps of rotten trees (fallen down) and in some others because of groups of large bears and still in other places had birds, the enemies of the snakes, among clusters of 'punnāgas';[56] |43

(and which had) mountains with a great many creepers growing upon them (and which had) 'śītalas',[57] 'hintālas',[58] 'tālas',[59] 'tālīs'[60] and 'nāgas'[61] (and which also had) crowds of carefree ('udaṃsu')[62] monkeys and (was filled with) the calls of 'cakoras',[63] 'krauñcas',[64] 'kuraras',[65] parrots, and cuckoos;[66] |44

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[53] 'mauli' is glossed with 'dhammilla' by Nit.

[54] Lit. 'not small'.

[55] 'kuha' and its compounds 'kuhacid', 'kuhacana', etc., are Vedic expressions identical in meaning with 'kva' and its compounds.

[56] A plant difficult to define but it could refer to Rottleria tinctoria, Calophyllum inophyllum, Mimusops elengi, or Mesua ferrlea. Cf. AK: 'puṃnāge puruṣas tuṅgaḥ kesaro devavallabhaḥ'.

[57] A plant difficult to define; 'syād vātakaḥ śītalo 'parājitā śaṇaparṇy api' AK.

[58] Probably the wild date palm-tree Phoenix sylvestris designated Phoenix or Elate paludosa by MW.

[59] The palmyra palm Borassus flabellifer, formerly called Borassus flabelliformis.

[60] A palm-tree of uncertain species:

jhaṭāmalā 'jjhaṭā tālī śivā tāmalakīti ca
kharjūraḥ ketakī tālī kharjūrī ca tṛṇadrumāḥ AK.

Possibly Flacourtia cataphracta or Pandanus odoratissimus.

[61] The name of several plants and trees Mesua roxbhurgii, Rottleria tinctoria, Mimusops elengi, Mesua ferrea, etc.

nāgaḥ pannagamātaṅgakrūrācāriṣu toyade
nāgakesarapunnāganāgadantakamustake MK.

[62] 'udaṃśūnām akleśānām' Nit. 'aṃśu' with the meaning 'trouble' or 'affliction' is not found in pw, MW, or APTE, but Nit. quotes the lexicographer Keśava: 'aṃśuḥ kleśaravau raśmau'.

[63] In older zoological terminology as found in the Sanskrit dictionaries the 'cakora' is called Perdix rufa, the Greek partridge. According to present nomenclature, however, the bird's designation is Alectoris chukar, the chukar partridge (the

(and which) obstructed the fierce sunbeams by means of bunches of 'mālatī'[67] creepers and whose fragrant river banks were densely covered with the 'vaṭa'[68] trees which were growing in the forest; |45

(and which had) dwellings of 'ṛṣis', bright peacocks, and soft grass[69] (and was) abounding in roots and fruits (and which had) creatures[70] with yokes of foul 'ulapa'[71] grass going to the water at the river bank (for fear of) forest fires; |46

Indian subspecies being Alectoris chukar chukar). It is dispersed throughout parts of Central Asia and the Middle East as far as eastern Greece and should be distinguished from its close Greek relative Alectoris graeca. The 'cakora' plays an important role in Indian literature but has a rather limited distribution in the Indian subcontinent where it primarily affects the barren, stony hill-sides and ravines of the western Himālayas and a part of Pañjāb. Perhaps the fact that the bird is resident in such harsh environments has given rise to the belief that it subsists on the rays of the moon. Thus while the forest Vṛndāvana and the river Yamunā provide a geographically natural habitat for the other birds mentioned in this passage of the **Śaurikathodaya** the reference to the 'cakora' is from an ornithological point of view out of place here and should be regarded merely as a poetical cliché. On the chukar partridge see Sálim ALI and S. Dillon RIPLEY, **Handbook of the Birds of India and Pakistan,** Vol. 2, Bombay 1969, pp. 18–20.

64. The identity of the 'krauñca' bird is not wholly clear. In the Sanskrit dictionaries different birds are suggested: curlew, heron, crane, osprey, snipe. See KEWA, MW, APTE, and H. GUNDERT, **Dictionary. Malayalam – English – Malayalam.** On the basis of evidence from both Sanskrit and Pali P. THIEME has arrived at the conclusion that 'krauñca' refers to the migratory crane (Grus grus lilfordi or Anthropoides virgo). See his article **Kranich und Reiher im Sanskrit,** Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Heft 1, 1975, pp. 8–13. Cf. also Sálim ALI and S. Dillon RIPLEY, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 136-38 and 146-48.

65. The osprey.

66. The 'pika', also called 'kokila', is the Indian cuckoo, Eudynamys scolopacea, formerly called Cuculus indicus. On this bird see Sálim ALI and S. Dillon RIPLEY, op. cit. Vol. 3, pp. 227–29.

67. Jasminum grandiflorum, the Spanish or Italian jasmine.

68. The Indian fig tree or banyan tree, Ficus bengalensis designated Ficus indica in the Sanskrit dictionaries.

69. 'barhis' is the sacrificial 'kuśa' grass Poa cynosuroides.

70. The context makes it probable that by 'creatures' are meant 'cattle' (see the attribute 'ku-ulapa-yogam'; cf. also the reading 'gavāṃ' instead of 'davāt' in the MS).

71. To determine the exact nature of the 'ulapa' plant is not easy. MW records only the meaning 'a species of soft grass' while APTE gives both the meaning 'soft grass' and 'creeper'. According to the AK 'ulapa' seems to be a kind of creeper:

latā pratāninī vīrud gulminy ulapa ity api|

(and whose) plains with terraces of emeralds[72] shone clearly because of Yamunā's continuously flowing water, that was equal to a sapphire (in lustre) and the soil of (whose banks) removed the heat (sa-gharma-hāni-ilena); |47

(and which was) impenetrable due to Dhenuka's might, Pralamba, and Keśin, the devourer of cows, and cruel because of Ariṣṭa through whom (even) the world became full of skeletons ('kankāli')[73] and frightening because of Kāliya. |48

Kṛṣṇa, entering together[74] with Balarāma, walked through the area of Vṛndāvana which was the lord of the mountains, bowers, mountain slopes, banks, forests, and rivers, (and which had) a clearly manifested dark form ('āviśyāmākāram').[75] |49

Here (in Vṛndāvana) the cowherds together with Kṛṣṇa devotedly brought the cows (home) and here Hari was continuously followed by the eyes of beautiful women who were filled with joy and love. |50

A group of the cowherds' wives, whose masses of hair resembled peacocks and whose speech was like that of intoxicated cuckoos, followed after Kṛṣṇa with deer-like coquetry in their eyes. |51

In Malayalam 'ulapa' also mainly refers to a creeper (see **Malayalam Lexicon,** Vol. 2, s.v.). Nit., however, glosses it with 'balvajatṛṇa' which is a species of coarse grass, Eleusine indica, disliked by cattle. This unrecorded meaning agrees with the compounded form 'kūlapa'.

[72] 'maratakālinīmaratakaratnamayālindavān maratakaratnakṛtajalapātraviśeṣayā vā' Nit. 'marataka', which is not recorded in any dictionary, is probably a metathesis of the well-known word 'marakata' and used in order to give a better 'yamaka'.

[73] Nit. also suggests another less good interpretation of 'kaṅkāli' by splitting it into 'kaṅka' (heron) and 'āli' (row): 'kaṅkapakṣisamūhayuktam'.

[74] 'amā saha samīpe ca' AK. 'amā' ('together') is a rare word which was first noticed in the Jaina work **Bhadrabāhucarita** of Ratnanandin:

bhadrabāhukumāro 'sau savayobhir amā mudā|
kalāvijñānapārīṇo ramamāno 'vatiṣṭhate|| 1,52.

JACOBI remarks that 'amā' is "bisher unbelegt" (**Ueber die Entstehung der Çvetāmbara und Digabara Sekten,** ZDMG 38, p. 9).

[75] We would expect the form 'āviś' or 'aviḥ' before 'śyāmākāram' and not 'āvi'. However, in South India simplification of double sibilants is not uncommon. See WACKERNAGEL, **Altindische Grammatik,** Band I, Göttingen 1957, p. 342 and RENOU, **Grammaire sanscrite,** 2nd ed., Paris 1961, p. 37; 'āvirbhūtaśyāmākarayuktam' Nit.

Sometimes he (Kṛṣṇa) went to sleep on the shore near the waters and sometimes he started to play in the sand[76] and still at other times he wove a wreath for the sake of the young girls and, smiling, he led them away (even) during the day-time. |52

Sometimes the lotus-naveled one (Kṛṣṇa) hastened to give pleasure to the wanton women and sometimes he sang and danced with one of them and (at other times) the untrue one mercilessly deceived another woman. |53

When desire arose one (cowgirl) would be passionately fondled[77] by the look from the corner of his eye that had the beauty of black bees.[78] Then again another (cowgirl), emaciated from desire, would be revived by the gift of his smile. |54

He would also frequent an arbour delighting the cows by offering them grass. Sometimes he would stand sounding (his) glittering flute — (he) who had put an end to the splendour of the 'asuras'. |55

Thus the divine[79] Lord, though only a boy, sported with rapture in the assembly of the young maids. For the excellent touch of the Lord does not, as one should know,[80] become (tainted) with sin — (the touch) that is acquainted with his (true) nature. |56

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[76] 'āp' is here used in its less usual meaning of 'enter into' and 'engage in'.

[77] 'alāli' is aor. pass. of 'lal-'.

[78] To the many poetical conventions of the 'kāvya' literature belongs a number of more or less stereotyped comparisons ('upamā' and 'rūpaka'). One such cliché is to compare the long side-glances ('katākṣa', 'apāṅga', etc.) with sharp arrows (S. LIENHARD, **Studien zur Eigenart indischer Kunstdichtung**, Thesis, Wien 1949 (unpubl.), p. 97). But here the dark looks from the corner of the eyes of Kṛṣṇa are compared to black bees. For a comparison between eyes and bees see e.g. **Gītagovinda** 3,5:

'cintayāmi tad ānanaṃ kuṭilabhru kopabhāreṇa|
śoṇapadmam ivopari bhramātakulaṃ bhramareṇa'||
'I think that this face with knitted eye-brows
because of the weight of (her) anger is like a red
lotus filled with bees hovering about (it).'

[79] Nit. interprets 'deva' as having the original meaning of 'shining': 'devaḥ dyotanātmaka ...' (the reading is corrupt).

[80] My translation of 'khalu' follows M. B. EMENAU, **Sanskrit Syntactic Particles — Kila, Khalu, Nunam**, IIJ, Vol. 11, No. 4.

The Lord, having a cane (made) of long 'kiṃśuka',[81] 'kadamba'[82] and 'kesara'[83] plants, always wore the 'keśava'[84] flower. What other (sounds) did not come quickly to (Kṛṣṇa's) ears ('śruti-patham')[85] in the noisy forest with groups of parrots![86] |57

Kṛṣṇa, before whom multitudes of spotless, vigorous ('amanda')[87] cows bowed down, felt anger easily[88] because of the Vṛndāvana that had 'asura'[89] flowers, (though) afterwards[90] what enjoyment[91] did he not obtain from the grassy Vṛndāvana![92] |58

Janārdana went around in the forest which had multitudes of 'sallakī'[93] trees and was full of 'kadamba' and 'kesara'[94] flowers and flowering 'naktamālas'[95] and covered with 'tamālas'[96] and 'ketakīs'.[97] (The forest was also) abounding in pidgeons and peacocks ('keki') with the young of swans and 'kokas'[98] and with sounds of 'sārasas'.[99] |59-60

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[81] The tree Butea frondosa.

[82] The tree Anthocephalus indicus, older designations being Anthocephalus morindaefolius, Anthocephalus cadamba, and Nauclea cadamba.

[83] The 'kesara' or 'bakula' plant is Rottleria tinctoria, Mimusops elengi, or Mesua ferrea. In interpreting 'kesara' as a plant I have followed Nit. but 'kesara' might also possibly be translated as 'fibre': 'The Lord, having a cane (made) of long "kiṃśuka" and "kadamba" fibres, always wore the "keśava" flower'.

[84] This flower, which is recorded only in lexicographical works is difficult to determine botanically. MW gives it the designation Rottleria tinctoria.

[85] Lit. 'the range of hearing'.

[86] I am not satisfied with line b but I am unable to make better sense of it.

[87] Nit. interprets 'amanda' as 'nīroga' ('healthy').

[88] Lit. 'at will'.

[89] A flower difficult to determine botanically, 'asura' in this sense is unrecorded but 'asurī' which is attested only in lexicographical works is equated with the Sinapsis ramosa by MW and APTE.

[90] Because of the sandhi one might read 'nu' ('now then', 'indeed') instead of 'anu': 'anu anantaraṃ nu iti chede vitarkaḥ' Nit.

[91] Nit. glosses 'lābha' with 'lakṣmī' ('wealth').

[92] A most difficult verse. It is not possible to retain the syntax of the original in translating it.

[93] A tree not altogether easy to determine botanically being mentioned in AK together with some other trees which are recorded only in lexicographical works. 'maheraṇā kundurukī sallakī hlādinīti ca'. MW identifies it with Boswellia thurifera and APTE with Shorea robusta. In Sanskrit literature this tree is said to emit fragrant juice when broken (cf. **Śaurikathodaya** 4,78) and to be particularly liked by elephants. Nit. glosses it with 'gajapriyā', a name occuring only lexicographically. MW gives the designation Boswellia thurifera to the 'sallakī' tree and Boswellia serrata to the 'gajapriyā' tree. In the present botanical nomenclature Boswellia

The Lord roamed about in the forest in the company of cowgirls[100] (while) all the time invisible[101] deities were waving[102] a fan of hair[103] (to cool him). |61

He who is the Supreme Being protecting (the world) and surpassing the collyrium (in lustre) by his splendour; he who drinks large quantities of milk and (who is) imperishable in the three worlds; |62

he who is honoured by both the cows and (their) young ones, having a face resembling a lotus, wearing a garland around his head, and who destroys all who are wicked;[104,105] |63

he who wears peacock feathers in (his) hair, being almost the only person to converse with the young wives[106] (of the cowherds) and who is absorbed in sipping from their lips and thereafter becoming faint with the fire of passion; |64

he who is the Lord ('inam') destroying (his) enemies when the Kali age comes to an end; he who is the womb of everything perceptible[107] and who is also at the same time (just) a boy; |65

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serrata is the only name used. Most likely the 'sallakī' tree is to be identified with Boswellia serrata glabra, a fragrant glabrous tree. See J. S. GAMBLE, **The Flora of the Presidency of Madras**, Pt. 1, Calcutta 1915, p. 168.

94. Cf. p. 113 n. 83.

95. This flower is equated with cirabilva, Pongamia glabra, in AK: 'cirabilvo naktamālaḥ krajaś ca karañjake'. naktamāla is recorded only as a lexicographical word by MW, but see the description of the river Narmadā in **Raghuvaṃsa** 5,42a:

sa narmadārodhasi sīkarārdrair marudbhir ānartitanaktamāle |

96. A tree with dark bark of uncertain botanical determination. MW identifies it with Xantochymus pictorius.

97. The flower Padanus odoratissimus.

98. 'koka' can refer either to the 'kokila' or to the 'cakravāka' bird. The latter alternative, favoured by Nit., seems the more plausible here as the 'kokila' has already been mentioned earlier. (See p. 110 n. 66). The 'cakravāka', which is identified with the ruddy goose, Anas casarca, in the Sanskrit dictionaries, is in fact the ruddy shelldrake, Tadorna ferruginea.

99. The sarus crane, Grus antigone, called Ardea sibirica in the Sanskrit dictionaries.

100. 'vallavī': MW only L.; see e.g. 'ballavījana' in **Śiśupālavadha** 12, 39a.

101. Lit. 'hidden'.

102. Lit. 'shaking'.

103. A chowrie: 'cāmara' Nit.

104. Lit. 'kaṇṭaka' means a thorn.

105. This verse is not found in Nit.

106. This is a somewhat free rendering of 'vadhūbhir ekalāpinam'.

107. That means, Kṛṣṇa is the cause of the entire universe.

he who makes known the Āraṇyakas ('āraṇa')[108] with its essence and who gives joy to the world; he who with eyes resembling lotus flowers shines for a moment (only) in the hearts of the good; |66

him, the Lord (and) the delighter, those, who dwell in the assembly of the gods ('dyusad-sabhā-janaḥ')[109] in the sky and who are honoured by the good, praised, obtaining the same enjoyment from the child. |67

"Victory (to you), O Lord. O wielder of the mace! (Victory to you) whose lips give pleasure to the beloved (cowgirls). May the earth be joyful. Relieve it from the burden of the 'asuras' which clings to it. |68

"Delight the three worlds – you who are the origin of the true knowledge of the three Vedas ('trayīkṛtapramodaya'). May the gods, who have destroyed the 'asuras', be (a source) of good protection for you. |69

"O lotus-eyed one, from whom the Eternal One ('ajaḥ')[110] is born dwelling in the (navel) lotus of Viṣṇu ('śritādinīrajaḥ')[111] he who brings forth happy creatures. Praise be to you, O Adhokṣaja!; |70

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[108] 'āraṇa' is recorded in the dictionaries only as a Vedic word with the meaning 'abyss'. Nit. defines 'āraṇa' as 'pūrvāhne japyo vedabhāgaḥ' ('a portion of the Veda to be recited in the forenoon'). It is used also in 5,50 where Nit. comments 'āraṇaṃ vedaikadeśaḥ'. 'āraṇa' then refers to some text or texts of the Veda. Here it seems as if we have an influence of the local language of the poet as 'āraṇa' is a South Indian form for 'āraṇyaka' (see the **Tamil Lexicon** s.v. and the **Malayalam Lexicon,** Vol. 1, s.v.). The question as to what extent the regional languages have influenced Sanskrit (particularly in its later stages) deserves careful consideration. So far, however, much attention has not been paid to this problem. One attempt in this direction is to be found in V. RAGHAVAN, **The Sarva-devavilāsa.** Edited with Critical Introduction and Notes. Madras 1958. See especially pp. 14–16 where the editor enumerates Tamil idiomatic expressions translated into Sanskrit in the text of the **Sarvadevavilāsa.**

[109] 'dyusad', means 'god', lit. 'sitting in heaven'; MW only L. but see, e.g. **Śiśupālavadha** 1,43b:

bhayasya pūrvāvatāras tarasvinā manassu yena dyusadāṃ nyadhīyata||
'He (Hiraṇyakaśipu), the powerful, was the first one to make fear
enter the hearts of the gods.'

'dyusad' is also used by Vāsudeva in his other works, e.g. **Tripuradahana** 1,20b:

'dyusadām adhyakṣe 'pi krudhyati'
'when (even) the Lord of the gods (Indra) was enraged'.

[110] Brahmā.

[111] 'ādi' refers to Viṣṇu. According to one tradition Brahmā was born from a lotus flower growing in Viṣṇu's navel.

"through whose wish everything comes into being, age after age. Praise be to you, O Lord, (you) who are glorified with the same eulogies as the Yogis! |71

"Everything that (exists) indeed is you, O you who are (pure) consciousness! but because of your 'māyā' this (world) appears manifold."[112] |72

Thus the Lord of the world was praised[113] by the host of the gods. Is there anyone who is not eagerly longing to see that young boy (Kṛṣṇa)? |73

The forest (Vṛndāvana) acquired beauty on account of the Eternal one (Kṛṣṇa) contentedly moving about (in it) – he who has a glittering flute[114] in his hand and who is skilful (in making) melodious notes; he who wears trembling peacock feathers in his hair and who has exterminated multitudes[115] of 'asuras' and (before) whose form the gods, 'ṛṣis', and sages bow down.[116] |74

Thus Ends Canto One

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[112] 'prabhedam āyayau' lit. means 'has become divided'.

[113] 'anāvi' is aor. pass. of 'nu-'.

[114] The 'vīṇā' is really a kind of lute but here it refers to the flute of Kṛṣṇa.

[115] 'prabarha' in the sense of 'group', 'multitude', is not found in the dictionaries, but is given by Nit: 'kṣatāsuraprabarhataḥ ghaṭitāsurasamūhayuktāt'. However, it is also possible to understand 'prabarha' in its usual meaning of 'excellent' and 'foremost'. According to the second alternative the translation will be 'who has exterminated the foremost of the "asuras"'.

[116] This verse is exceedingly corrupt with 'prasannataḥ' in the third 'pada' and the entire fourth 'pada' missing. I think I have been able to restore it according to 'yamaka' and metre with the help of Nit. However, I am not quite certain about the word order of the last 'pada'. The metre, 'pañcacāmara' ('five chowries'), is rarely used in literature but quite common in hymns. It is not listed by KEITH among the metres employed in classical poetry (**History of Sanskrit Literature,** Reprint, London ... 1961, pp. 418–20. It has sixteen syllables in each quarter with the 'gaṇa' pattern 'ja ra ja ra ja ga'.

Canto Two

Then Hari, the hero, protecting the cows which were of an even mind and free from disease, wearing a forest garland and moving about with the mighty[1] Rāma, agitated ('ālolaṃ vyadhatta')[2] the Vṛndāvana (forest) exceedingly. |1

Protecting the herd of cows – cows that had received a gift of pure 'ulapa' grass and had unsteady feet – Madhunāśin[3] reached Yamunā which was cool because of the wind (laden) with flower nectar.[4] |2

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1. The MS reading 'vidhinā' does not seem possible as 'vidhi' ('fate') referring to Brahmā can hardly be an attribute of Rāma.

2. 'vyadhatta' is missing in the MS but found in Nit. However, its place in the original is certain as the sentence requires a finite verb and the metre, 'āryāgīti', would be incomplete without it.

3. 'madhunāśin', lit. 'the slayer of the "asura" Madhu', is a name of Kṛṣṇa not recorded in the dictionaries.

4. After this verse, Nit. comments upon another one not found in the MS. I reproduce the commentary in full where the words in what in my opinion constitute the original have been underlined:

> 'kāmabalākulagopīsaṃghena kāmasya balena ākulānāṃ gopastrīṇāṃ samūhena sa kṛṣṇaḥ bahulākulagopī ma (?) bahulā gāvaḥ tāsāṃ kulaṃ samūhaṃ gopanaśīlaḥ "surabhir bahulā ca saurabheyī" ceti bhaṭṭaḥ vyahṛta krīḍitavān samut sasantoṣaḥ kālindyāṃ yamunāyāṃ tīratarusamutsukāliṃ tīravṛkṣapuṣpeṣu samutsukabhṛṅgayuktāṃ dyām ākāśaṃ kā(ma)balākulagopīsaṃghenaiva kālindyāṃ vyahṛta ity anvayaḥ.'

Obviously 'dyām' and 'tīratarusamutsukālim', a 'bahuvrīhi' compound qualifying 'dyām', are parts of a subsidiary clause but Nit. has not given the verbal form that must belong to it. A translation of the main clause would be:

> 'He (Kṛṣṇa), the protector of multitudes of cows, sported with joy on the banks of Kālindī together with a group of cowgirls who were overcome by the power of love.'

Equalling the 'atasī'[5] plant in splendour Tridhāman[6] once came to the waters of Kālindī – waters with the snake (Kāliya) – falling[7] into which anybody could die; |3

in whose (Kālindī's) interior the snake called Kāliya dwelled due to whose poison that forest region had its creepers everywhere withered[8] and its trees destroyed as if by a forest fire. |4

The Supreme Being, who had caused the 'pātāla'[9] to tremble and who also (was) agitating the forest greatly, placed (his) foot on top of a 'kadamba' tree standing there in the forest, and fell into (Kālindī). |5

Thereafter the snake called Kāliya, who was exceedingly evil and devoted to the destruction of (his) enemies, furiously attacked (Kṛṣṇa) from the interior of the water, with great rapidity and terrifying the antelopes and tigers. |6

He (Kṛṣṇa) was encircled in the water by Kāliya who was (there) with many groups of snakes. The boy, shaking him (Kāliya) (whose) head[10] was trembling, performed a dance on his hood. |7

Having quickly removed the poison from the snake Kāliya, the Lord without (being) fatigued came (back)[11] to the river bank delighting the group of cowherds again. |8

Thereafter in order to destroy (his) enemies, he (Kṛṣṇa) departed from the bank of Kālindī, which had thickets of trembling leaves[12] and where the wind was blowing,[13] to a grove of 'tāla' trees. |9

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[5] The common flax, Linum usitatissimum or the Bengal hemp, Crotolaria retusa.

[6] Lit. 'the triple-gloried one'.

[7] Lit. 'gliding'.

[8] 'ā' is an abbreviated form of 'āsamantāt'.

[9] 'pātāla' is usually considered to be the lowermost of the seven infernal regions. It is inhabited by 'nāgas', 'dānavas', 'yakṣas', etc.

[10] Lit. 'face'.

[11] Nit.'s reading 'ālambata' is a form of 'ā+lamb-'. According to the dictionaries 'ā+lamb-' has meanings such as 'lay hold of', 'lean upon', 'assure', etc. None of these suits the context here and Nit. comments 'ālambatāgacchat'.

[12] 'lolapa', glossed by Nit. with 'cañcalatṛṇayukta', is not found in the dictionaries. The possibility that it might be a misspelling for 'lolapattra' is ruled out both by the 'yamaka' and the metre.

[13] Lit. 'shaking'.

Throwing many heavy stones and sharp branches[14] (?) there together with the young cowherds,[15] Keśava caused hundreds of tall 'tāla' trees to fall. |10

As a fearful sound was being made by the 'tāla' trees that imitated that of the goblins ('anukṛta-vetālānām'),[16] the cruel ('asura') called[17] Dhenuka, who had shaken herds of cows, angrily attacked (Kṛṣṇa and the cowherds). |11

Rāma, who was without fatigue, threw the demon on the trunk of a 'tāla' tree. That evil being (Dhenuka), whose vital organs had been destroyed[18] and who had a steady mind in (all his) exertions, fell down lifeless (from the tree). |12

Then Hari, who had a vessel (filled with) ghee and kindled[19] desire in the women, went to the Bhāṇḍīra tree[20] and sported there with the extremely talkative ('bahu-lāpānām') cowherds ('bahulāpānām').[21] |13

A certain 'asura' here (in Vṛndāvana) called Pralamba, who was devoted to killing on account of (his) hatred[22] and who had a different appearance (than his normal one),[23] placed Halabhṛt (Balarāma) on his shoulder – (Halabhṛt who) is not to be killed (by anyone) in (this) world – and went away. |14

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[14] 'hula' is according to the dictionaries 'a partic. kind of warlike implement' (MW); 'a kind of implement or knife' (APTE); 'ein best. Kriegsgeräth' (pw). The context here seems to make these meanings less suitable. Nit. glosses with 'yaṣṭikā' and I have tentatively translated it by 'a sharp branch'.

[15] Lit. 'cowherd boys'.

[16] In translating 'vetāla' by 'goblin' I follow EMENAU. See **Jambhaladatta's version of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati**, American Oriental Series, Vol. 4, New Heaven 1934, p. xxiii.

[17] Lit. 'lāpa' means 'talking' but here it is identical in meaning with 'nāma'.

[18] Instead of 'hatamarmā' Nit. reads 'vicarmā' ('whose skin had been drawn off').

[19] Lit. 'producing'.

[20] 'bhāṇḍīra' is the name of a famous banyan tree standing on the mountain Govardhana.

[21] 'bahulāpa' is composed of 'bahulā' ('cow') and 'pa-' ('to protect') and is thus identical in meaning with 'gopa'. 'bahulā' meaning cow is a rare word; MW only L. See, however, e.g. **Mahābhārata**, Anuśāsanap. 76,9:

kasmāt samāne bahulāpradāne sadbhiḥ praśastaṃ kapilapradānam |
'In an equal gift of a cow, why is the gift of a brown one
considered to be the best by the good? (Yudhiṣṭhira asked).'

[22] 'dveṣāntarataḥ dveṣeṇa ante hanane rataḥ tatparaḥ' Nit.

[23] Pralamba joined the games of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma under the guise of a

Haladhara (Balarāma), who had a clenched hand and was standing on (Pralamba's) shoulder,[24] deprived the enemy of (his) life ('asuhŗd-asu-muşţi-karaḥ')[25] by crushing (Pralamba's) evil head with his fist — (the head) which was more massive than a mountain. |15

When (thus) Pralamba had been quickly killed, Hari sported exceedingly with a joyful mind together with Rāma for the protection of the herds of cows. |16

For the sake of slaying[26] the Lord (Kŗşṇa) seven demons, who had firm minds and who had annihilated the gods, assumed the form of bulls and lived near[27] the cow-pen of Kumbhaka, the leader of the cowherds. |17

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cowherd and thus managed to carry away Balarāma. See **Harivaṃsa,** Vişṇup. 14. However, I am not quite certain about the correct interpretation of 'veşāntarataḥ'.

[24] Nit. glosses 'skandharataḥ' with 'aṃśe sthitaḥ'.

[25] 'muşţi' means 'stealing' or 'a clenched hand'. The latter meaning does not suit the context here and has also been used already in the previous 'bahuvrīhi' compound 'sumuşţikara'. In addition the use of the same word with the same meaning twice is forbidden in a 'yamaka'. Lit. 'asuhŗdasumuşţikara' would then mean 'stealing (his) enemy's life'. But Nit. interprets the compound as 'śatruprāṇamokşaṇakārin' ('releasing the enemy's life'). It is not easy to explain why Nit. gives 'muşţi', with its negative connotations, the positive and religiously tinged meaning 'mokşa'. It might really be that 'muşţi' can mean 'mokşaṇa' though not found in the dictionaries in that sense. But a more probable explanation is that Nit. was influenced by some very special 'bhakti' ideas concerning the concept of 'mokşa'. In some early 'bhakti' texts, particularly the **Bhāgavatapurāṇa,** hatred is sometimes set on a par with love, as the most important thing is considered to be that the mind is constantly directed towards Kŗşṇa, whether it be by devotion or hatred. This way to liberation through hate is said to be open particularly to the 'asuras'. See e.g. **Bhāgavatapurāṇa** 3,2,24a:

manye surān bhāgavatāṃs tryadhīśe saṃrambhamārgābhinivişţacittān |
'(Uddhava said) "I believe these 'asuras' to be 'bhāgavatas'
who have (their) minds set on the road of anger
(directed towards) the Lord of the three worlds."'

Concerning the 'Hassbhakti' see A. GAIL, **Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāṇa,** Münchener indologische Studien, 6, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 74. However, this devotional meaning of 'muşţi' was most probably not intended by Vāsudeva himself (cf. Introduction p. 16) and consequently I have translated 'muşţikara' by 'depriving'.

[26] Lit. 'cutting'.

[27] Nit. interprets 'adhi goşţham' as 'goşţhamadhye' ('in the centre of the cow-pen').

The walls of the hut, the cart, the pots, and the doors in Kumbhaka's garden became destroyed[28] through the seven bulls who, with evil minds, bellowing[29] ran about everywhere. |18

In order to stop them Kumbhaka advanced[30] together with some skilful cowherds who made exceedingly frightening sounds ('uddhuṅkṛtibhiḥ').[31] But, however, he (Kumbhaka) was not capable of (stopping) them and overcome by very great fear he addressed his people (thus): |19

"I have a daughter by the name of Nīlā[32] whose virtues cannot be measured.[33] She will gladly become the wife of him who puts an end to the haughtiness and might of these (bulls) ('darpa-bala-samutsādayitā')". |20

Thus because of Kumbhaka's words the youthful cowherds who were of clever minds, came with haste — the (cowherds) who had hopes[34] for Nīlā, and fetters for these (demon-bulls) who destroy peoples' lives, and who further were devoted to (finding out) means to accomplish the capture of these (bulls). They (the cowherds) were torn asunder by them (the bulls) and the Lord (Kṛṣṇa), who exter- |21-
minates his intoxicated enemies, came to hear about this. |22

Then Kṛṣṇa, who is free from ignorance, angrily advanced against them and (the bulls), the exceedingly evil ones, (also did so). The Supreme Person engaged in fighting with them and thereafter they (all) met their death. |23

And Nīlā sported together with the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) — (the Lord) who had a dark hue and whom she had gained through marriage ('tarjanī-lābhena')[35] and who had gladdened Kumbhaka by the act of killing the bull-demons (which was an act) distinguished by virtue.[36] |24

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[28] Lit. 'Kumbhaka's garden got the walls of the hut, the cart, the pots, and the doors all destroyed.'

[29] The compound verb 'abhi+raṭ-' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[30] 'āra' is perf. of 'ṛ-'.

[31] 'utkaṭahuṃkārayuktaiḥ' Nit.

[32] Concerning the episode of Nīlā see Introduction p. 25.

[33] Lit. 'who cannot be measured with regard to the virtues.'

[34] The affirmation is expressed by a double negation 'na‿apa-āśāḥ'.

[35] Lit. 'who was a gain through the forefinger'. 'tarjanī' is a forefinger but is used here in a transferred meaning and refers to the wedding ritual where the bridal couple hand in hand takes seven steps around the sacred fire. Nit. glosses with 'pānigrahaṇalābhena'.

[36] 'vṛṣa' is here used with the unusual meaning of 'virtue'.

(Then) Kṛṣṇa, whose dwelling is in the forest, saw the bull Ariṣṭa, who was rough[37] with the cows, without fear swallowing corn in the cowpen - (Ariṣṭa) who was dear to Kaṃsa, the banner of the Yadu family. |25

Pressing (Ariṣṭa's) neck with his two arms — arms that cause dejection and fear among (his) enemies — and desiring to annihilate the vehemence of (his) enemies, Kṛṣṇa brought Ariṣṭa to destruction. |26

A horse by name of Keśin was born, who was an evil-doer to the (women) of the pen-fold — women with beautiful hair — and who was intoxicated because of the honour (shown to him) by Kaṃsa and who was devoted to causing much sadness to virtuous people. |27

The cows in the forest were seized and eaten by him (Keśin) who always fearlessly and hastily wandered around (there) — (the cows) for whose protection Lord Kṛṣṇa exists, he who is without beginning or end. |28

Kṛṣṇa reached that very powerful horse of Kaṃsa, who with great anger was causing harm ('krauryam ... yantam') to the cows and whose roaring resembled the thunderbolt and who did not roam about in the vicinity.[38] |29

In order to devour him (Kṛṣṇa) he (Keśin) opened (his) fearful mouth which had sharp teeth and which (used to) bite multitudes of people. There (in the mouth) Kṛṣṇa thrust his hand and increased it (in size) — (the hand) that caused terror to him (Keśin). |30

Then the body of Keśin was split apart by the mighty hand of the Lord. (It is from this incident) the Lord of Śrī (Kṛṣṇa), who is praised by the people, obtained (his) foremost name Keśava.[39] |31

Thus once when Kṛṣṇa was wandering about in Vṛndāvana, which had decayed trees in its forest, the rainy season began — (the rainy season) which gives an overflowing of delight to the mind.[40] |32

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[37] Nit. reads 'goṣṭhe karkaśam' and glosses 'karkaśam' with 'virodhakāram' ('causing trouble in the cowpen').

[38] Lit. 'to whom (there was) a non-motion in the vicinity'.

[39] 'keśava' is most likely to be connected etymologically with 'keśa' and thus means 'having much or fine hair'. Cf. KEWA, s. keśa.

[40] Line a best understood as an gen. abs. Such constructions are almost unknown in the 'kāvya' literature. See L. RENOU, **Sur la structure du kāvya**, JA 1959, p. 18 and p. 78 n. 84.

The 'kuṭajas'[41] which during a long time had certainly been sprinkled by the season which is the Lord of the clouds ('vanada-īśena')[42] – the season which had made the forest region flourish – put forth a shining wealth of flowers which was beautiful like a crystal diadem (makuṭa).[43] |33

The frogs croaked and what joy did not the female goose obtain during the time (of the rainy season) in which the multitudes of creatures which gain their livelihood from water ('nīra-ājīve') enjoyed themselves in it – the water which was free from 'rājīvas'[44] ('nī-rājīve'). |34

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[41] The tree Holarrhena antidysenterica, earlier designated Wrightia antidysenterica.

[42] 'vana' ('water') and 'vanada' ('cloud') are very rare words; MW only L. For a good illustration of 'vana' used both in the meaning of 'water' and the usual one 'forest' see the opening verse (numbered as the second by the editor who wrongly regards the first verse of the commentary as the first of the original) of the **Buddhivinodakāvya** (ed. by D. R. MANKAD, IHQ, Vol. 12, pp. 692–700):

kaścid vanaṃ bahuvanaṃ vicaran vayastho vasyam
vanātmavadanāṃ vanitāṃ vanārdrām|
tarvaryaripradam udīkṣya samutthitaṃ khe
nā gāṃ imāṃ madakalaḥ sakalāṃ babhāṣe||

'A certain young man ('nā'), intoxicated with passion ('madakalaḥ') and roaming about in a forest with much water and seeing a cloud (a) appearing in the sky, said all these words ('gāṃ') (the following verses) to his humble beloved who had a moon-like (b) face and was wet with water.'

(a) Lit. 'tarvari' ('the enemy of wood') is 'fire'; 'tarvaryari' ('the enemy of fire') is 'water' and 'tarvaryaripradam' ('the giver of water') is 'a cloud'.

(b) Lit. 'vanātma' means 'that which consists of water' = 'the moon'.

See also **Śiśupālavadha** 6,73. According to F. W. THOMAS 'vanada' occurs in Jānakīharaṇa 11,55 (**The Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa**, JRAS, 1901, p. 274. However, in PARANAVITANA's and GODAKUMBURA's ed. of **Jānakīharaṇa** the reading is 'jaladhara'.

[43] 'makuṭa' is a South Indian form of 'mukuṭa'. See **The Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka**, ed. by G. H. SCHOKKER, Indo-Iranian Monographs 9, The Hague – Paris 1966, p. 347.

[44] Probably the blue lotus, Nymphaea stallata, Nymphaea nelumbo, or Nelumbium speciosum.

At that time (the rainy season), which is rich in water[45] and full of mud and in which the 'kāśa'[46] grass has withered away ('nī-rasa-kāśe') and in which (also) the 'bakoṭa'[47] bird cries proudly, the geese went to the Mānasa (lake).[48] |35

During the rainy season when Kṛṣṇa was roaming about in groves of 'kakubha'[49] trees around (whose trunks) the earth[50] had ornaments (in the shape) of flowers, arrows were poured down by Smara[51] in the hearts ('antaḥ')[52] (of separated lovers).[53] |36

The beautiful clouds of the month of Bhādrapada,[54] which were full of lightning, followed after the body of Hari with (their) splendour – (the body) which was of the same colour as the sky and which was tightly embraced by the slender body[55] of Śrī.[56] |37

Kṛṣṇa sported together with a cowgirl. Who did ever think of his transgression? Who amongst them (the cowgirls) was not equal to Menakā[57] and who amongst them did not burn with passion? |38

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[45] Lit. 'which has water nearby'.

[46] Saccharum spontaneum, a grass with white flowers.

[47] Cranes and herons are often confused in Sanskrit dictionaries but in all likelihood 'bakoṭa' and its more well-known cognate 'baka' refer to the grey heron, Ardea cinerea, and not to cranes as assumed by MW and APTE. Cf. P. THIEME, op. cit. pp. 13–15. 'bakoṭa' is recorded only as a lexicographical word but it occurs in **Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa** 1185 a-b:

> bakoṭāḥ pānthānāṃ śiśirasarasīsīmni saratām
> amī netrānandaṃ dadati caraṇacoṭitamukhāḥ |

[48] After vv. 35 and 37 two other verses are found in Nit.

[49] Terminalia arjuna or Pentaptera arjuna.

[50] 'ku' is a rare word meaning 'earth'. See also **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** 8,15:

> hitagiram ākarṇaya man niyaccha darpaṃ prapasya ma karṇa yamam |
> yena jito nakaukaḥpatir jaye tasya samucito nā kau kaḥ ||

'"O Karṇa! Listen to these wholesome words of mine! Give up pride and do not look at Yama! What man on earth is capable of conquering him by whom (even) the Lord of those that dwell in heaven (Indra) has been defeated."'

[51] The god of love. [52] Nit. 'hṛdi'.

[53] Verse No. 36 is followed by No. 38 in Nit.

[54] 'nābhasya' is an adjectival form of 'nabhasya' (the month of Bhādrapada) not recorded in the dictionaries.

[55] Lit. 'body creeper'.

[56] In the MS 'nābhasyaghanāḥ' in the first line has been split and 'ghanā(ḥ)' wrongly transferred to the beginning of the second line.

[57] An 'apsara' who seduced the sage Viśvāmitra and became the mother of Śakuntalā.

The autumn, which had numerous 'śaras'[58] and 'asanas',[59] acquired beauty through flowers because of Smara who had drawn his bow[60] – (a beauty which was made up of) the sickle of the moon equalling (the whiteness) of the tusk of a pure noble elephant ('śaśi-lekhā-tulita-nirmala-ibha-īśa-radā'). |39

During the autumn, which had many new constellations of stars ('ulbaṇa-vālarkṣyāyām')[61] (and looked) as if the milky ocean was being seen, the stars ('amala-santaḥ')[62] shone brightly in the moonlight with the beauty of rising foam.[63] |40

(In the autumn) sun-like sprouts which had been completely covered (with rain) became black[64] and the 'kurara' bird cried loudly. In multitudes of lakes the lotus flowers[65] blossomed forth and rows of swans adorned the waters (?) ('kam').[66] |41

When the clear autumn continued here on the surface of the earth which was covered with groves of 'śara' grass, then the peacocks full of cries[67] spreading (their) feathers[68] on their heads[69] formed a circle. |42

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[58] Saccharum sara or Saccharum arundanaceum.

[59] Terminalia tomentosa.

[60] The love-god's arrows consists of flowers.

[61] Nit. quotes the commentator Bhaṭṭa who gives 'bālarkṣya' the meaning 'whiteness': 'bālarkṣyaṃ balarkṣatvaṃ śvetatvam'.

[62] Lit. 'those which are pure'; 'amalasantaḥ svacchās tārās' Nit. Cf. also p. 108 n. 52.

[63] In this exquisite verse the starry bright autumnal sky is compared to the milky ocean and the stars to its foam.

[64] The original yellow colour had become black due to excessive rain.

[65] 'kamala' is probably the lotus flower Nelumbium speciosum.

[66] I am not certain about the meaning of 'kam'. Could it be the rare word 'ka' meaning 'water'? Line b as a whole is not entirely clear to me.

[67] 'kekā' means 'a peacock's cry'.

[68] 'kālāpa' can mean 'the hair of the head' according to APTE.

[69] 'ka' is a rare word for head. See e.g. **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** 8,12b:

> kṣepsyasi kaṃ pāṃsau te pārthaḥ kṛtvā mahīṃ sakampāṃ saute |
> '"O Karṇa ('saute')! Making the earth tremble Pārtha (Arjuna) will throw your head in the dust."'

See also **Tripuradahana** 2,38b.

A river[70] with clear flowing water appeared and the earth became also full of blue 'ulapa' grass. The 'kairava'[71] flowers and the 'kāśa' grass shone. Were there (any) dirty places in the world during autumn?[72] |43

Observing the season (the autumn) that torments the traveller[73] – (the season) which was filled with the cries of many geese and 'sārasas' from the rivers and streams and which has shining lotus flowers in the lakes – the Lord, who was without a woman, went about in haste ('aprasaram ... na ... sasāra').[74] |44

The 'asana' flower was radiant with beauty[75] and the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) removed the garment of his beloved one. The Lord of Śrī agitated the cow with a bunch of grass and likewise he agitated her (the beloved one).[76] |45

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[70] 'dhunī' is a rare word for river. See also **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** 1,76:

> atha sadanīkacchatraḥ samprāptaḥ sakalavanadhunīkacchatraḥ |
> saṃgho vasudhāpānāṃ dhiyaṃ dadhānaḥ smṛtotsavasudhāpānām ||

'Then the assembly of the kings ('vasudhāpānām') who (used) to drink nectar on traditional festival days ('smṛtotsava-sudhā-pānām') arrived — (the assembly of the kings) which was devout (dhiyaṃ dadhānaḥ', a Vedic expression) and which had shining umbrellas in its armies and which (further) was the protector of all the forests, rivers, and (river) banks ('sakala-vana-dhunī-kaccha-traḥ').

Cf. also 'dhunīna' ('ocean') found in **Haravijaya** 48,82. See R. SCHMIDT, **Neue oder im pw. noch nicht belegte Wörter aus Ratnākaras Haravijaya,** WZKM, Bd 29, p. 286.

[71] The white lotus-flower.

[72] It is not possible in a translation to reproduce the poet's elegant use of the impersonal aor. pass. and perf. med.-pass. forms.

[73] The traveller is one who is separated from his beloved; 'pathikaśabdo viyogiṣu kavisamayāsiddhaḥ' Nit.

[74] Notice the double negation expressing affirmation.

[75] Lit. 'the beauty of the "asana" flower was radiant'.

[76] A punning verse. 'tad' in line a refers to 'asana'. Lit. 'the Lord made that', that is, 'asana' but here it should not be understood as a flower but as a verbal noun from 'as-'. 'asana' then means 'throwing' or 'removal'; 'tad eva asanaṃ nirasanaṃ śabdasāmyam' Nit. In line b 'tṛṇaghaṭayāmā' and 'ghaṭayām āsa' belong to two clauses with 'gām' as object in the first and 'tām' (the beloved) as object in the second. The Lord agitated the cow as well as his beloved with grass, in the second case by making a bed of it in order to engage in love sports; 'kāmapāravaśyena śaradi kṛṣṇo gāḥ tṛṇasañcaye cārayan vallabhākaṭivasanam apahṛtya tṛṇasañcayam eva vallabhānāṃ talpam akṛteti vākyārthaḥ' Nit.

The heart of the Lord (Kṛṣṇa), (which was like) a row of intoxicated bees, was pierced by the flower arrows of Smara and the goose with a burden of intoxication went to the (river) bank and climbed his beloved's hips. |46

A female parrot warbled for her beloved in the 'kalama'[77] field and even one of his cowgirls moaned softly in loneliness. The earth became tremulous (with joy) because of the 'bāṇa'[78] reed and the Lord became tremulous with bliss. |47

Beauty visited the cow-pen and the Lord, the partaker of fame, sipped from the cowgirl's lips. This seasonal beauty came also to Rāma, the bestower of release to those who are afflicted with calamities. |48

These two Lords (Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma), who are (at the same time) young boys and who are the shining cause and effect ('sphuratparāvarau)[79] in (everybody's) heart and who are devoted to destroying (their) enemies; who have shining white and black bodies[80] and who are worthy (of worship) till the deluge at the end of the world;[81] who have made their habitation in forest after forest and exist for the protection of the earth; who are shining with crests of flowers (around their heads) and who are undefeated in battle after battle — they sported thereafter with pleasure on earth ('kau') rejoicing excessively. |49–51

Thus Ends Canto Two

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[77] A kind of rice.

[78] Probably the blue-flowering Barleria.

[79] 'paraṃ kāraṇam avaraṃ kāryam' Nit. 'parāvara' might also mean 'the earlier and the later' or 'the higher and the lower'.

[80] This refers to the tradition that Viṣṇu took two hairs from his own body, one white and one black, which later became Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively. See, e.g., **Viṣṇupurāṇa** 5,1, 59—60:

evaṃ saṃstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvaraḥ|
ujjhahārātmanaḥ keśau sitakṛṣṇau mahāmune||
uvāca ha surān etau matkeśau vasudhātale|
avatīrya bhuvo bhārakleśahāniṃ kariṣyataḥ||

[81] Lit. 'at the end of the "yuga"'.

Canto Three

Then Kṛṣṇa, before whom multitudes of sages bow down and who obtains amorous sports[1] from Vṛndāvana, once went excitedly to the cowpen which was noisy because of the movement of people filling it. |1

The cowherds, who were engaged in carrying out[2] the sacrifice to Mahendra (Indra), were seen by him who walked quickly seeing the expanse[3] of the cowpen.[4] |2

He who is the Primeval (Being) came to a stop ('sthitim āpa')[5] and disclosing himself he asked them: "Oh, tell me, to which god is this festival being prepared according to rule?" |3

The cowherds said to him: "These people worship Mahendra in autumn. The time has come for his festival ('mahāya‿āsannaḥ kālaḥ'). It is for the sake of remembrance (?)[6] that our big effort (is made) ('mahā-āyāsaṃ naḥ')". |4

Thus having heard the words ('gāḥ') uttered (by the cowherds) with pride, the Lord (also) said a word: "Only the mountains which give drink, food, and maintenance to the cattle should be worshipped by our cowherds." |5

Thus having heard Dāmodara's word, the people, who were steeped in joy ('āmodarataḥ'), abandoned the great sacrifice to Indra[7] and started the sacrifice of the mountain ('govardhana'). |6

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[1] 'krīḍām avāpya' could also be translated 'obtaining pleasure'.

[2] Lit. 'upāya' is a 'means' of any kind; 'yāgopāye yajanasādhane' Nit.

[3] 'tāna' in the sense of 'expanse' is not given by MW; 'dṛṣṭavrajatānena dṛṣṭagoṣṭhavistāreṇa' Nit.

[4] The metre of this verse is 'gīti' instead of the expected 'āryāgīti'.

[5] Nit. reads 'smitam āpa' ('he started to smile').

[6] 'smaratkṛte' is both linguistically and metrically not satisfactory, but I am unable to make a better sense of it.

[7] Lit. 'because of the abandoning of the great sacrifice to Indra'.

They (the cowherds) performed the pure Govardhana sacrifice consecrating Hari as guru – he who was well versed in the 'śāstras' ('ṛddha-naya-jñam').[8] They also distributed offerings with large ('a-tanu') quantities of food to it (the mountain). |7

Kṛṣṇa, having seated himself on that mountain (top) with his huge body that possessed the same beauty[9] as the mountain, enjoyed that extremely huge heap (which consisted) of food – (a heap) even (capable of) weighing down the earth. |8

When he, who is the most excellent among gods[10] and who is the bestower of boons, was protecting (the world), then the clouds, which were ordered by Indra and which had warded off (many) forest fires, drenched the herds of cows with much water. |9

(Then), with their gaze attached to Mādhava, the herd of the most excellent white cows, which was tormented by the water ('nīra-kṣāmā'),[11] stood (in front of him) as if saying: "O Lord, do not let us be without protection!" |10

Thus the mountain Govardhana which possessed ramparts was held up delightedly by the Lord with one hand as if it was an umbrella – (a hand) which gives an abundancy of happiness to the world. |11

(Then) Sutrāman[12] being calm and showing much affection[13] (to Kṛṣṇa) – (Sutrāman) to whom the cowherds bow down and whose sins had been removed, came up to Kṛṣṇa and together with the assembly of the gods he sprinkled (him) with nectar saying "O Govinda!" |12

[8] 'ṛddha' means 'increased', 'prosperous', etc., but Nit. equates it with 'samṛddha' ('perfect', 'complete', 'all'). 'naya' refers to the 'nītiśāstra' (cf. p. 105 n. 25). 'ṛddhanayajñaṃ samṛddhanītiśāstravedinam' Nit.

[9] 'hāva' lit. means 'dalliance' or 'coquettish gesture'; 'samahāvapuṣā parvataśṛṅgasamānam ābhaṃ puṣṇatā' Nit.

[10] Lit. 'a bull among the best of the gods'.

[11] Lit. 'emaciated because of the water'; 'kṣamā kliṣṭā' Nit.

[12] 'sutrāman', lit. 'he who protects well', is a rare word for Indra; MW only L. 'sutrāman' occurs in a verse in **Kāvyaprakāśa** in the section on 'doṣas' (ch. 7). The verse contains grammatical forms and words which, according to Mammaṭa, should be avoided in poetry. But they can be accepted if, as is the case in this verse, they are used in direct speech:

mṛgacakṣuṣam adrākṣam ity ādi kathayaty ayam|
paśyaiṣa ca gav ity āha sutrāmānaṃ yajeti ca|| 7,295.

'He says: "I saw her who has deer-like eyes" etc.
He (also) says: "Look at the cow and sacrifice to Indra!"'

Cf. also L. RENOU, **Sur la structure du kāvya**, p. 89 n. 140.

[13] Lit. 'giving much "rasa"'; 'rasadaṃ rāgapradam' Nit.

"O descendant of the Yadu race (Kṛṣṇa)! O you who resemble a burst sapphire! Glory be to you who protect the world from fear! – you who are the cause of liberation of the great-souled (sages) who have understood the Upaniṣads ('avagata-vedāntānām') and who have restrained (their sense organs).[14] |13

"Then, O Lord, I believe that, (due to the fact) that the mountain which has a wealth[15] of cows ('go-lābhena') was held up by you who have the lustre of ink ('golā-ābhena'),[16] the burden of the earth was removed – a (burden) difficult ('a-suharam')[17] for others to remove." |14

Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa) who protects the world, thus addressed by him (Indra), said (in his turn): "I know that Pārtha (Arjuna), the giver of joy,[18] has been born in order to make the 'dānavas' tremble and I will be his friend in the Bhārata war in which Suyodhana, Karṇa,[19] Droṇa, Aśvatthāman,[20] Bhīṣma, and Bhūriśravas (take part) – (a war) requiring good weapons and soldiers." |15-16

Having been told so and being surrounded by a clamorous army (of gods), the Lord of the gods (Indra) went to heaven (and) he (Kṛṣṇa) obtained joy from Vṛndāvana which was free from wild beasts ('apa-śvāpadataḥ') and did not become subject to forest fires ('apaśv āpadataḥ').[21,22] |17

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[14] After vv. 13–15 Nit. comments upon three verses not found in the MS.

[15] 'lābha' with the meanings 'wealth', 'riches', is not recorded by MW but see e.g. **Kirātārjunīya** 13,52b:

> svantam antavirasā jigīṣatāṃ mitralābham anu lābha sampadaḥ |
> 'For those who wish to conquer wealth and riches, which are perishable ('antavirasāḥ gatvarya ity arthaḥ' Mall.), are worth less ('anu hīnāḥ nikṛṣṭā ity arthaḥ' Mall.) than the gain of a friend which is good till the last.'

[16] 'golā' is a rare word meaning 'ink'; 'golābhena patrañjanasadṛśena' Nit; MW only L. Kṛṣṇa's dark blue hue is often compared to other objects of blue colour such as the sapphire (see the preceding verse) or the sky (see 2,37). However, this is the first time to my knowledge that his hue is compared to ink.

[17] Lit. 'not easy to remove'.

[18] Lit. 'he who produces joy'.

[19] 'rādheya', lit. 'son of Rādhā', is a name of Karṇa.

[20] 'drauṇi', lit. 'son of Droṇa', is a name of Aśvatthāman.

[21] 'apaśu' is a difficult expression. It is composed of the prefix 'a' and 'paśu'. The latter, however, cannot have its ordinary meaning 'cattle' here. Nit. glosses it with 'davo araṇyāgnir' ('forest fire'). This very unusual meaning is not recorded by MW or pw. However, one of the meanings of 'paśu' given by APTE is 'fire'. Another difficulty of the word is that with regard to 'yamaka' and sandhi, it must

Thus when Viṣṇu, who destroys the pride of (his) enemies and purifies the forest regions, was sporting (on earth), the great sage called Nārada came to Kaṃsa who was alone in the town (Mathurā). |18

"You are dear to me, Kaṃsa. Therefore get to know that the person (Kṛṣṇa) who is the protector of the earth that is filled with wicked people and a friend to those hailing from the Vṛṣṇi race has been born for the sake of slaying you. |19

"Therefore, O Kaṃsa, always guard yourself against the invulnerable ('akṣatataḥ')[23] Lord of the world (Kṛṣṇa). He is protected by Yaśodā and Nanda, who are in Gokula, filled with joy." |20

Having told (Kaṃsa) thus, Nārada went away (to contribute to) the victory[24] of the gods. Thereafter Kaṃsa, who was without splendour, pondering, ordered his people (to prepare) the festival of the bow. |21

"May an arena be constructed and an extremely intoxicated elephant[25] be placed at its entrance in order to kill Śauri (Kṛṣṇa) – (an elephant) which has disgraced[26] the elephant of Bhalabhid (Indra) and which has split mountains with its strength. |22

"May the wrestler called Muṣṭika whose heart is very attached to me[27] be brought as well as (the wrestler) Cāṇūra who with his fist pulverizes the chests of his enemies. |23

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be neut. 'paśu' is normally only masc. in the sg. (in the pl. both masc. and neut. forms occur). However, in a few Vedic passages 'paśu' is neut. sg. in connection with 'man-', e.g. **Ṛgveda** 3,53,23a:

'lodhaṃ nayanti paśu manyamānāḥ'
'Sie lenken ein Lodha(ross) indem sie es für ein Opfertier halten.'
(Geldner's transl.)

See also **Vājasaneyisaṃhitā** 23,10. Concerning the neut. sg. forms of 'paśu' see J. BLOCH, **Petits problèmes étymologiques,** Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume, Madras 1946, pp. 124–25.

22. Line b is not easy to understand as the comm. of Nit. is very corrupt.

23. Lit. 'uninjured'.

24. 'jayitva' is a word for 'victory' not recorded in the dictionaries.

25. 'sāraṅga' is a rare word for 'elephant'; 'sāraṅgaḥ puṃsi hariṇe cātake ca mātaṅgaje' MK; MW only L.

26. The meaning 'disgraced' for 'tarjita' is not found in MW but is given by APTE. Nit. reads 'nirjita...' ('which has defeated ...').

27. 'mallola' lit. means 'trembling for me'; 'mallolaṃ mayāsaktam' Nit.

"Having arranged a festival for the bow (contest) I may bring about the destruction of the enemy (Kṛṣṇa) here through (the help of) the elephant and those two (Muṣṭika and Cāṇūra), who respect me[28] ('mad-lālibhyām') and who are equal to scores of (other) wrestlers." |24

Saying thus (and) entrusting to the hands of his ministers what was to be done[29] and giving up his future[30] happiness[31] he (Kaṃsa), further[32] in a very cruel way, ordered Akrūra, who was devoted to Acyuta, to bring Kṛṣṇa. |25

"O Akrūra, the people living in Vraja possessing curds should come[33] to my (bow) festival with great speed together with the boy (Kṛṣṇa). That has to be done ('bhāvyam') by you who are full of energy." |26

Thus because of Kaṃsa's words[34] and with very deeply felt[35] joy and full of consideration ('āsthāyātaḥ') Akrūra mounted the wagon and departed from him (Kaṃsa) to bring Kṛṣṇa. |27

"For the removal of (my) sins when will I see Viṣṇu who has been born on earth as a human being through (his) 'māyā' – (Viṣṇu) who has exterminated the foremost of (his) enemies and who was born after Halabhṛt (Balarāma)? |28

"I consider myself to have an auspicious body and to be equal to the gods and I do not feel myself as one who has human eyes ('māṃsa-dṛśām')[36] for today I will see Viṣṇu with my two eyes here (in this world) (even) in this low birth. |29

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[28] Only the meanings 'fondling', 'desiring', are recorded in the dictionaries for 'lālin'; 'mallālibhyāṃ māṃ lālayituṃ sambhāvayituṃ śīlaṃ yayor iti vigrahaḥ' Nit.

[29] The meaning of the compound 'amātya-jana-sthāpita-kṛtyaḥ' is not entirely clear to me.

[30] 'purasthita' lit. means 'standing in front'.

[31] Ramā is another name for Śrī, the goddess of fortune.

[32] Instead of 'sa punar' Nit. reads 'kumatiḥ' ('the evil-minded one').

[33] Nit. glosses 'ājihīta' by 'āgacchatu', but the verb root is not quite clear. It seems probable that it is an opt. form 3 sg. of 'hā-' but not 'hā-' meaning 'to leave' or 'to remove' whose opt. form would be 'jahyāt'. Rather it is 2 'hā-' according to MW, which has the meanings 'to spring forward' and 'to depart'. However, the compound verb 'ā+hā-' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[34] 'ārava' lit. means 'sound'.

[35] 'sāravataḥ' lit. means 'having strength or solidness'.

[36] 'māṃsadṛś' lit. is 'one who has eyes of flesh' or 'eyes in the flesh', that is, a human being. The expression is not recorded by MW but is translated by APTE

"Is there any other man ('nā')[37] in the three worlds who is to be honoured more than myself? For I, who have shown honours and reverence, will drink in Hari's face (today) with my own eyes." |30

Akrūra thus saying and meditating much in his mind on the Lord's body, which holds a discus and a conch, roamed about[38] with an excellent horse[39] and came quickly to Gokula.[40] |31

The imperishable Supreme Being (Kṛṣṇa), who punished[41] the snake (Kāliya), was seen by Akrūra with delighted mind engaged ('tiṣṭhan') in milking the cows — (the Supreme Being) who with his 'māyā' body drinks in the faces of those with beautiful eyes (the women). |32

Having arrived, he (Akrūra) paid homage to the god (Kṛṣṇa), who protects the herds of cows and is a human being through deceit ('kapaṭa-mānavam').[42] Then he (Kṛṣṇa) embraced him (Akrūra) with his two arms that were large and beautiful and has bristles of hair at (their) ends. |33

Having brought Akrūra to his own house — (Akrūra) who had shown respect and the movements of whose body were charming ('su-anga-īham'), he (Kṛṣṇa), with an affectionate mind honoured (Akrūra) in the evening with much food, together with Halin (Balarāma). |34

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as 'seeing superficially', who refers to **Bhāgavatapurāṇa** 10,3,28b:

rūpaṃ cedaṃ pauruṣaṃ dhyānadhiṣṇyaṃ
mā pratyakṣaṃ māṃsadṛśāṃ kṛṣīṣṭhāḥ||

However, 'seeing superficially' is a very free translation of 'māṃsadṛś' and in the quotation above it can very well be rendered as 'one who has a human eye':

'Do not make this (your) human form which is worthy
of being meditated upon, visible to human eyes!'

[37] The nom. form 'nā' (from the stem 'nṛ') is a very rare form; MW only L. and according to WACKERNAGEL it has never been recorded (see **Altindische Grammatik**, Band III, Göttingen 1930, p. 320). But for further examples see the previous quotations from **Buddhivinodakāvya** (p. 123 n. 42) and **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** (p. 124 n. 50).

[38] 'ava+aṭ-' ('to roam about') is a compound verb not recorded in the dictionaries; 'avāṭan paryaṭan' Nit.

[39] Lit. 'a divine horse'.

[40] 'govāṭa', lit. 'an enclosure for cows', is here a synonym of Gokula.

[41] 'āgas' meaning 'punishment' is found in APTE but not in MW.

[42] That is, through the power of his 'māyā'.

Kṛṣṇa asked him (Akrūra) who was standing alone nearby about the actions which were about to be performed by Kaṃsa and he (Akrūra) told him (Kṛṣṇa) everything truthfully; how his (Kaṃsa's) mind was enveloped with anger.[43] |35

On account of the exhortation[44] of the son of Śvaphalka (Akrūra), the cowherds, the Lord (Kṛṣṇa), and Rāma, who had much splendour, (all) went with cheerful minds[45] from that place (Gokula) to Kaṃsa's (bow) festival. |36

(The women said) "O Akrūra, do not take away Acyuta for mildness ('a-krūratvam') suits you.[46] These people, who were tainted with sin,[47] can never live without Govinda. |37

"O lotus-eyed one, these obedient people who were faultless on account of (their) love for you; due to what fault (of theirs) do you now abandon all of them?[48] |38

"If Kṛṣṇa together with Rāma goes away from here, to whose lap can we come to hear exceedingly sweet words with our ears? — (we) who are always burdened with much passion ('adhi-kāmadhurāḥ')?"[49] |39

Thus the many cowgirls talked on the road concealing their numbness with affection, when they saw Rāma and Kṛṣṇa going away in the wagon. |40

The Lord Kṛṣṇa was hindered by a loving woman ('kamanyā)[50] and another one stood in front of him and fearlessly (still) another, overcome by passion, pulled him violently by the hand. |41

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[43] Lit. 'enveloped with the quality of "tamas"'.

[44] Lit. 'ādeśa' means 'command'.

[45] Lit. 'śubhacetanayā' means 'with bright minds'.

[46] Akrūra means 'he who is not cruel'.

[47] Lit. 'who had found sin'.

[48] Verse 38 comes after verse 39 in Nit.

[49] Lit. 'having the yokes of much passion'.

[50] 'kamanī' ('beloved woman') is not found in the usual dictionaries. Nit., however, quotes the lexicographer Yādava: 'abalā kāminī kāntā kamanī kāmalocanā iti yādavaḥ'.

A certain virtuous[51] (woman) with (worldly) attachments ('bandhanyā')[52] who was meditating, her mind completely devoted to the final beatitude[53] ('atyanta-rata-sva-dhiyā dhyātvā ... parama-pade') and abstaining from other thoughts[54] ('viramya mati-antarataḥ'), reached the shining[55] Acyuta.[56] |42

"I will soon[57] come back. Live well! This word of mine is true."[58] Thus consoling himself those (cowgirls) the glorious 'māyā'[59] god went away. |43

Hundreds of women came under his control whose passion also is this 'māyā' of the most pure (Lord) — (the 'māyā') which is full of his favour and which has active desire[60] for everything. |44

Then Halin, Śauri, and Akrūra, fierce through their prowess, being the lights of the Yadu race[61] and going to kill the enemy (Kaṃsa) reached the bank of the Kālindī (Yamunā) and sported (there) with its wind. |45

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[51] 'dhanya' usually means 'happy' or 'prosperous' but is used here with its less common meaning of 'virtuous' or 'good' (MW only L.); 'dhanyā puṇyavatī' Nit.

[52] Lit. 'with a (worldly) fetter'. The fem. form 'bandhanī' is recorded only as L. by MW.

[53] That is, liberation from 'saṃsāra'; 'paramapade mokṣamārge' Nit.

[54] That is, abandoning worldly attachment; 'matyantarataḥ anyaviṣayabuddheḥ' Nit.

[55] 'deva'; cf. p. 112 n. 79.

[56] This is a very difficult verse and the comm. is not wholly clear. Nit. summarizes however: 'kācid acyutadhyānena mokṣam agamad iti vākyārthaḥ'.

[57] Lit. 'quickly'.

[58] Lit. 'pure'.

[59] That is, through his 'māyā' Viṣṇu has descended on earth as a human being; 'māyādevaḥ chadmanā manuṣyarūpeṇa avatīrṇo devaḥ' Nit.

[60] It is not possible to give but a very free translation of 'adhigatakāmāyāsā sarvam'. Lit. it would mean '(the 'māyā') which has got efforts of desire for everything'.

[61] The MS reads 'yadukulapratīpāḥ' ('the adversaries of the Yadu race') not commented upon by Nit. This reading however does not seem possible as Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and Akrūra, hardly can be said to be 'the adversaries of the Yadu race'. But the reading can easily be improved upon by changing 'pratīpa' into 'pradīpa'.

At the time of his ritual ablution[62] ('sva-niyama-kriyā-velāyām') Akrūra, leaving these two (Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma) who were standing on the wagon and gushing forth cascades of fame[63] like two mountains, got down on the bank of the Yamunā. |46

Going to the end of the Kālindī and immersing himself in its waters, he (Akrūra) approached Halin (Balarāma), the remover of numerous crimes[64] and Mukunda (Kṛṣṇa), the destroyer of the enemies of the gods, who stood (there). |47

He (Akrūra) again went up to them (Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma) who had gone to a mud wall near the water ('adhi-jalam')[65] – they who are known through their excellence.[66] He bowed down to these two wonderful (beings) Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, who move both on land[67] and water ('tīra-vār-caryābhyām').[68] |48

The Lord, who possessed immense radiance, told him (Akrūra) about his (own) greatness ('vitatatvam') which makes the truth evident and (then) together with Bala (Balarāma) and Akrūra went back to Madhurā[69] – (Madhurā) which had become oppressed by the sport of the enemy (Kaṃsa).[70] |49

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[62] 'niyamakriyā' is an action which has to be performed according to prescribed rules. Here it refers to a ritual ablution (see the following verse).

[63] As the colour of fame is considered to be white it is often compared to white or clear objects.

[64] Lit. 'who cuts series of crimes'. 'dyantam' is pr. ptc. of 'do-' ('to cut').

[65] 'avyayībhāva' formations consisting of a preposition and a noun are old formations which after a time of stagnancy reoccur in the kāvya literature (L. RENOU, **Sur la structure du kāvya,** p. 24 and p. 82 n. 107). Particularly the preposition 'adhi' is archaic (SPEIJER, **Sanskrit Syntax,** Reprint, Kyoto 1968, § 156). It occurs only twice in the **Kirātārjunīya** but is more common in the **Śiśupālavadha.** For lists of the prepositional Avyayībhāvas in **Kirātārjunīya** and **Śiśupālavadha** see C. CAPPELLER, **Bhāravi's poem Kirātārjunīya,** Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 15, Cambridge (Mass.) 1912, p. 154, and O. WALTER **Übereinstimmungen in Gedanken, Vergleichen und Wendungen bei den indischen Kunstdichtern von Vālmīki bis auf Māgha,** Thesis, Leipzig 1905, p. 37 respectively. For other 'avyayībhāva' formations with 'adhi' in **Śaurikathodaya** see 3,64, 6,19, 6,23 6,27, and 6,37.

[66] 'pramita' lit. means only 'understood' but that would make the clause incomplete and Nit. interprets: 'pramitau prakarṣena jñātau'.

[67] Lit. 'on the bank'; 'jale sthale ca sthitābhyām' Nit.

[68] I have translated Nit.'s reading of line b as the reading of the MS is not quite intelligible to me. This reconstruction is, however, metrically incomplete.

[69] Madhurā is a less common form of Mathurā, used often by the poet for the sake of 'yamaka'.

[70] Lit. 'which had been made a yoke for the sport of the enemy'.

Having fulfilled what was desired by him (Kaṃsa), Akrūra, who had gone hastily to the town ('pūryātaḥ') in the evening, quickly told Kaṃsa that the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) had arrived together with Halin (Balarāma). |50

Having heard that (he) who had caused dejection[71] among the 'daityas', the Eternal One (Kṛṣṇa), was nearby, Kaṃsa made attempts to kill Kṛṣṇa – (attempts) that led to his own death.[72] |51

He (Kaṃsa), whose behaviour was mean and who had beautiful white umbrellas held (by his servants), entered the platform (of the arena) very quickly in order to see the rapid killing of Rāma and Hari. |52

There (in the arena) the multitudes (of spectators) with bristling hair on the platform appeared (as if) raised up to the skies. Among them were many people ('mahā-lokaḥ') who stood watching the festival ('sa-maha-ālokaḥ') waiting for Kṛṣṇa. |53

Then the Lord who causes pain[73] to (his) enemies and who was agitated[74] on account of the might of his foes and who sports[75] for the welfare of the world, departed in the morning together with Bala (Balarāma) to kill the Lord of the Bhojas (Kaṃsa). |54

The proud (Kṛṣṇa) seized a garment which had the beauty of a lotus after having killed a washer-man[76] on the road. Kṛṣṇa, who had the lustre of a 'tamāla' tree and who had been favoured by a garland-maker, also wore a garland of flowers. |55

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[71] 'santamana', Nit. 'glāni' ('exhaustion') is not recorded in the dictionaries but is obviously derived from 'sam+tam-' ('to be dejected').

[72] Lit. 'which had his own death as its limit'.

[73] 'todin' from 'toda' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[74] The context shows that 'kṣubh' is construed here with the abl., normally it is construed with the acc.

[75] 'rantṛ' from 'ram-' is found in **Ṛgveda** where it means 'delighting in' according to MW. Here it refers to Kṛṣṇa's 'līlā' in his different 'avatāras' and means rather 'he who sports'; 'rantā krīḍitā matsyādirūpeṇa' Nit.

[76] Meeting a washer-man and cloth-dyer on the road Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma asked for some garments. But the washer-man, who was one of Kaṃsa's servants, insulted them and refused to give them what they asked for. Then Kṛṣṇa angrily crushed his head and took the garments. See **Harivaṃśa**, Viṣṇup. 27.

The Lord, born in the shining sky,[77] there (on the road) straightened one of Kaṃsa's servant maids, a hunch-back, with the two beautiful hands that had the same colour as a lotus flower. |56

Kṛṣṇa, who had beautiful hands and shoulders and quickly caused the downfall of Kaṃsa's excellent elephant, immediately shone in the arena which was like an ocean with waves of excellent wrestlers.[78,79] |57

Then, making (his) enemies furious and bringing the best of archers to destruction, the shining Kṛṣṇa sportingly[80] and gracefully danced among (his) enemies. |58

Balabhadra, who had a clenched hand, felt joy by stopping Muṣṭika and in his death. With his fists the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) turned Cāṇūra's collection of bones into powder. |59

Kṛṣṇa moved about together with the hurrying Rāma, whose might and authority are celebrated, and at that moment he (Kṛṣṇa), who possessed great speed, was seen standing on the platform of the enemy. |60

(Then) joyfully, Kṛṣṇa seized Kaṃsa by the head – (Kaṃsa) who was longing for his death – and making him (Kaṃsa) fall down, he (himself) fell on his chest – (Kṛṣṇa) who has put an end to wickedness. |61

Thereafter Kaṃsa's body, which had a chest like a mountain slope, was turned into powder. At his (Kṛṣṇa's) fall, whose body does not meet with destruction – (Kṛṣṇa) within whom the worlds[81] (exist)? |62

Having killed Kaṃsa and having gladdened (his) father along with (his) mother, the broad-shouldered Kṛṣṇa lived in the place (called) Madhurā – (Madhurā) which enjoyed[82] the mild rule of Ugrasena.[83] |63

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[77] 'sphurita-kakubh-jāta' is a difficult compound about whose translation I am not quite certain. The comm. is also somewhat unclear. The question is, what does 'kakubh' mean here? I have understood it in the sense of 'a region or quarter of heaven' and the whole compound would then refer to Kṛṣṇa's divine origin.

[78] Lit. 'with waves of wrestlers attached to it'.

[79] Verse 57 after verse 58 in Nit.

[80] 'kelīlābhin' lit. means 'obtaining amusement'.

[81] According to Nit. the 'lokāḥ' refers to the fourteen worlds (the seven upper and the seven lower ones).

[82] Lit. 'had obtained'.

[83] Ugrasena was the father of Kaṃsa.

The Yadus, who before, when Kaṃsa was alive,[84] for a long time had been without energy ('udasta-rasāḥ') and dejected,[85] became (now) filled with great joy as (their) enemy (Kaṃsa) had been slayed by Hari (Kṛṣṇa).[86] |64

Thus Ends Canto Three

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[84] 'adhikaṃsam' is an interesting 'avyayībhāva' formation with 'adhi'; cf. p. 136 n. 65. Nit. takes 'adhi' as an abbreviation for 'adhikṛtya' ('with reference to') and comments 'kaṃse jīvati satīty arthaḥ'.

[85] The translation of 'avasthitim', which is not commented upon by Nit., presents considerable difficulties. According to the dictionaries 'avasthiti' means (1) 'residence' (2) 'abiding' (3) 'stability' (MW); (1) 'abiding', 'dwelling' (2) 'residence'; 'abode' (APTE); 'das Verbleiben', 'das Verharren' (pw). But none of these meanings makes sense in this context. 'avasthiti' refers to something negative, the situation prevailing when Kaṃsa was alive, and is contrasted with the joy felt by the Yadus after Kaṃsa's death. The only plausible solution seems to be, in my opinion, that the poet has kept to the strict etymological meaning of 'avasthiti'; that is, 'a position' or 'state' ('sthiti') which is 'low' ('ava'). Thus 'avasthitim āpuḥ' lit. means that the Yadus 'reached a low state (of mind)'. I have then rendered it by 'became dejected'.

[86] 'purā', the last word in line a, is found as the first word in line b in the MS. However, as an examination of the metre 'āryāgīti' will show, 'purā' has to be transferred to line a in order to restore the metre.

Canto Four

Having honoured (their) eminent teacher, Sāndīpani by name, Kṛṣṇa and also Halabhṛt began the study of all the Vedas including the 'khilas'[1] at the extreme ends (of these texts). |1

Then the Brāhman, who was equal to Bhārgava,[2] with a happy mind taught the all-knowing Lord all the 'śāstras' as well as the weapons.[3] |2

The teacher wanting a large, very valuable fee ('gurvartham') asked for his son who was filled with the utmost power and had earlier been snatched away in the ocean by the 'timi'[4] fish. |3

Thus addressed by the excellent Brāhman, the Lord, the husband of Śrī, went to the ocean by means of the foremost of birds[5] and took the life of the 'timi' (fish) called Pañcajana just as he took away the sufferings of the people. |4

The Lord (Kṛṣṇa), who had no fear for battle and who was free from confusion and who (further) had a conch-shell (called) Pāñcajanya (made) of the bones of the enemy (Pañcajana), reached the town of Yama.[6] |5

Thereafter he (Kṛṣṇa), the partaker of fame, reached the world of Yama from the ocean with the conch-shell (called) Pāñcajanya which was taken (by him) and filled with sound and made of[7] the body of it (Pañcajana). |6

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1. A 'khila' is an appendix added to a regular text. Such Vedic 'khilas' are, e.g. the last eleven hymns of the Ṛgveda (1017—1018) and chapters 26—35 of the **Vājasaneyisaṃhitā.**

2. 'bhārgava' is another name of Paraśurāma, one of Viṣṇu's 'avatāras'.

3. That is, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma received instructions in both the theoretical and the practical arts.

4. 'timi' is a huge kind of fish, a hundred 'yojanas' in size according to Nit.: 'timināma mahāmatsyaḥ śatayojanāyātaḥ'.

5. 'vipravara' is a name of Garuḍa not given by the dictionaries.

6. The fifth verse comes after the sixth in Nit.

7. Lit. 'born of'.

Thereafter the prudent Kīnāśa[8] thinking, "In a great battle (my) destruction might come about through Hari", gave the son of the teacher to the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) – (the son) who earlier[9] had met his end. |7

(Then the son) who had been taken by Yama was brought back again from Saṃyamanī[10] to his own house by Kṛṣṇa, who with the shining power of his splendour had delighted Sāndīpani. |8

The people who at first did not know[11] where the son of the teacher (was), thought when they saw him again "It is Hari and no other man who has humbled the three worlds".[12] |9

The king of Magadha (Jarāsandha), who was there (in the arena)[13] and heard that Kaṃsa had been killed, came very angrily to obliterate Madhurā ('kartuṃ madhurā-uddhāram') and to kill the conqueror of Madhu (Kṛṣṇa).[14] |10

Seeing the large number of his (Jarāsandha's) soldier, the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) together with Rāma advanced against him who had desired the end of the town (Madhurā) and who gave forth loud shouts. |11

The Lord, who makes (his) enemies tremble and who is the cause of the dissolution of the three worlds was not there at all but indicated his route (while) running – (he) who possesses worldly wisdom ('nīti-pada-vītena'). |12

The army of Jarāsandha, which had arrows and bows and was white with shining umbrellas and which crushed the vital parts of its enemies and was full of clamorous sounds ('udrāva-sphītam') pursued Kṛṣṇa who was running. |13

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[8] 'kīnāśa' is a rare word for Yama, cf. also **Śiśupālavadha** 1,73a.

[9] Lit. 'then'; 'tāvat pūrvam' Nit.

[10] Saṃyamanī is Yama's city.

[11] 'avāguḥ' is aor. 3 pl. of 'ava+gā-' with the meanings 'to pass away', 'to go to, join with', according to MW. Here, however, it means 'to know' and 'to understand' thus coinciding with some of the usages of 'ava+gam-'; 'avāgur avagatavantaḥ' Nit.

[12] It is impossible to retain the syntax of this complicated verse in a translation.

[13] 'tatra raṅge' Nit.

[14] 'madhuroddhṛ', lit. 'he who stopped (the 'asura') Madhu', is a name of Kṛṣṇa not recorded in the dictionaries.

Balabhadra and Janārdana, who were on foot and had quickly passed many countries, hastened towards the Gomanta mountain which was lofty like the Himālayas but without the Gangā (river) and Umā ('a-gaṅgā-umam'). |14

Arriving at the Gomanta (mountain), whose summit reached up to the sky[15] and which was full of fruits, roots, 'atasī' plants, honey, and cows,[16] they (Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma) roamed about. |15

Having also come near the Gomanta (mountain) with a swift army, the glorious king of Magadha (Jarāsandha), who had extraordinary firmness,[17] stood there and the area which had excellent trees[18] (growing) on the mountain was covered by him (with the army). |16

The kings who had the intention of throwing down Rāma and Kṛṣṇa from the (top of the) mountain to its foot[19] then burnt down the (whole) Gomanta mountain which had tall 'umā'[20] grass (growing on it). |17

These two (Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma) advanced quickly towards the army of (the king) of Magadha which possessed mighty[21] generals and, in the ensuing battle[22] with raised weapons, they displayed great strength among the kings.[23] |18

In the battle, which was like (the one) on account of Tārakā,[24] these two (Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma) with great effort carried the axe, bows, mace, and the discus – (weapons even capable of) piercing mountains. |19

[15] 'divi sammatasīmantam' lit. means 'whose summit was honoured in the sky'.

[16] Nit. proposes an alternative interpretation of 'gomantam' giving 'go' the meaning 'water'.

[17] Lit. 'who had the essence of firmness'.

[18] 'dharāja', lit. 'the earth-born', is a word for 'tree' not recorded in the dictionaries.

[19] 'paryante' lit. means 'at the end'; 'paryante pādapradeśe' Nit.

[20] umā = atasī, see p. 118 n. 5.

[21] 'samagra' lit. means 'entire', 'complete'; 'samagraiḥ prabalaiḥ' Nit.

[22] Lit. 'the present battle'.

[23] Lit. 'in the assembly of the kings'.

[24] 'tārakāmya', lit. 'full of Tārakā' and then also meaning 'on account of Tārakā', is the name of the battle that took place between the 'asuras' and the gods after Bṛhaspati's wife Tārakā had been carried off by Soma:

> evaṃ ca tayor atīvograsaṃgrāmas tārakānimittas tārakāmayo nāmābhūt |
>
> **Viṣṇupurāṇa** 4,6,16.

In the battle the gods sided with Bṛhaspati and the 'asuras' with Soma. Finally Tārakā was restored to her husband through the intercession of Viṣṇu (according to **Harivaṃśa**) and Brahmā (according to **Viṣṇupurāṇa** and **Bhāgavatapurāṇa**).

Suddenly the gods being within the circumference of the sky ('kha-cakra-ga-devaiḥ') — (the gods) who were completely[25] free from fear of the might of the 'danus' — invoked (praise) to Kṛṣṇa, who carried the conch, discus, and mace,[26] and thereafter they (all) obtained (much) joy. |20

There (in the battle) Rāma crushed (his) enemies[27] with his club — (the enemies) who had been made to bow low because of (Balarāma's) axe — and with the edge of his discus Kṛṣṇa cut (his) enemies' throats[28] — (the edge) of which had swept over them. |21

Thus having made the enemy army — (the army) which was an assembly of good men — lose its strength and having killed the group of kings, who possessed numerous bows, the two (Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma) advanced towards the king of Magadha. |22

Rāma struck him (Jarāsandha) playfully[29] with (his) mace — (the mace) that ruined the fame of (his) enemies. The king felt great pain because of that and thereafter he fell fainting (to the ground). |23

The king of Magadha, having heard about the disaster in the battle, ran away crying loudly. At the same moment the divison of his army that had gone to the mountain (Gomanta) (also) fled. |24

The son[30] of him, who had a mighty voice and was difficult to subdue on the battle-field and whom they call Damaghoṣa, the Lord of the Cedis, came to these two (Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma) — (the son) who was filled with joy and was together with Bhadrā ('bandhurayā‿āsīt').[31] |25

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[25] 'dūratama' lit. means 'in an extremely high degree'.

[26] 'kṛṣṇe saśaṅkhacakragade' might also be understood as a causal loc. abs. 'Because of Kṛṣṇa, who carried the conch, disc, and mace, the gods ... invoked (praise)', etc.

[27] Lit. 'turned (his) enemies into minute particles'.

[28] Lit. 'Kṛṣṇa cut the enemies in their throats'.

[29] 'saśobhaṃ savilāsam' Nit.

[30] 'bandhu' lit. means 'relation' but here it refers to the son of Damaghoṣa, the famous Śiśupāla who was Kṛṣṇa's cousin. In **Harivaṃśa**, Viṣṇup. 43 it is related how he made Kṛṣṇa attack Vāsudeva Sṛgāla, the king of the town Karavīra (see the following verse). Later Śiśupāla became Kṛṣṇa's enemy because the latter eloped with Rukmiṇī, his betrothed bride.

[31] 'bandhurayā bhadrayā(ṃ)' Nit. 'bandhurā' here probably refers to Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā, a sense which is not recorded in any dictionary.

On account of being urged by him (Śiśupāla), Kṛṣṇa, rushing from the mountain with much haste, reached the border of the town Karavīra — (the town) which was filled with soldiers with weapons in (their) hands. |26

Afterwards, there (in Karavīra) in the battle, out of much ('āyatataḥ') enmity, the Lord took (his) sharp discus and dealt death to Sṛgāla Vāsudeva who had transgressed the limits (of propriety). |27

(Then) Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, who are devoted to making (their) enemies weep ('ripu-roda-rataḥ')[32] and who remove the afflictions of charming women whose husbands have gone abroad,[33] went back to (the town) Madhurā.[34] |28

Then a certain sage[35] 'asura' called Kālayavana, who destroyed[36] the lives of the great and before whom the (whole) world of humanity bowed down out of fear, advanced against the Yadus. |29

In order to destroy the Yadus, he (Kālayavana) with wrathful mind brought quickly innumerable troops of the Yavanas[37] — (the Yavanas) who had shaken the oceans, the waters, and the forests.[38] |30

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[32] 'roda' ('weeping') from 'rud-' is a Vedic form, the corresponding classical one being 'rodana'.

[33] That is, 'virahiṇī' women.

[34] I have understood the tatpuruṣas 'ripurodarata' and 'proṣitamadhurāmāpatpramokṣakṛt' as qualifying both Kṛṣṇa and Rāma but from a formal point of view they could be attributed to Rāma only.

[35] According to Nit. instead of 'dhīmān' ('intelligent') one might read 'adhīmān' ('not sage') as due to the sandhi 'a' would be elided and leave the 'yamaka' untouched.

[36] Lit. 'who obstructed'.

[37] According to the corresponding place in **Harivaṃśa** (Viṣṇup. 57,20) the Yavanas refer to different 'mlecchas' from the North ('haimavataḥ'): the Śakas, the Tuṣāras, the Daradas, the Pāradas, the Śṛṅgalas, the Khasas, and the Pahlavas. According to **Manusmṛti**, 10,43–44, they (except for the Tuṣāras and the Śṛṅgalas) were originally Kṣatriyas who due to negligence in carrying out the prescribed rites sank to the position of Śūdras. Nit., however, glosses 'yavanānām' with 'turuṣkāṇām' ('the Turks').

[38] Or 'who had shaken the waters of the oceans and the forests'.

Though seeing the fierceness of his own army, the glorious Kṛṣṇa sent[39] a snake in a jar to the advancing[40] enemy (Kālayavana) who was very proud and had formed an army.[41, 42] |31

Seeing the snake in the jar eaten up by a multitude of ants – the snake sent (back) by him (Kālayavana) – the Primeval One (Kṛṣṇa) became frightened as he himself (also) saw his (Kālayavana's) army arriving. |32

"The Yavana (Kālayavana) approaches. The king of Magadha, who has passed beyond (his) means, will also come here again. This place does not extend comfort. Therefore the people here should abide elsewhere." |33

Thus thinking, his mind having reached the limit (of its power), the Lord of the world (Kṛṣṇa) went to the western ocean where he himself had earlier been happily together with Ramā (Śrī). |34

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[39] 'prajighāya' is perf. of 'pra+hi'.

[40] The compound verb 'ā+sṛp-' is not recorded in the dictionaries; 'āsarpantam āgacchantam' Nit.

[41] 'sainyam itaṃ sainyayuktam' Nit.

[42] In **Harivaṃśa** it is told that frightened at the sight of Kālayavana's advancing army, Kṛṣṇa sent him a black snake in a jar through a messenger in order to make him too afraid to attack Mathurā. But the scheme failed as Kālayavana filled the jar with ants and returned it to Kṛṣṇa. He therefore decided to leave Mathurā and go to Dvārakā.

> apayāne matiṃ kṛtvā dūtaṃ tasmai sasarja ha|
> tataḥ kumbhe mahāsarpaṃ bhinnāñjanacayupamam||
> ghoram āśīviṣaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ kṛṣṇaḥ prakṣepayat tadā|
> tatas taṃ mudrayitvā tu svena dūtena hārayat||
> nidarśanārthaṃ govindo bhīṣayām āsa taṃ nṛpam|
> sa dūtaḥ kālayavane darśayām āsa taṃ ghaṭam||
> kālasarpopamaḥ kṛṣṇa ity uktvā bharatarṣabha|
> tat kālayavano bhuddhvā trāsanaṃ yādavaiḥ kṛtam||
> pipīlikānāṃ caṇḍānāṃ pūrayām āsa taṃ ghaṭam|
> sa sarpo babubhis tīkṣṇaiḥ sarvatas taiḥ pipīlikaiḥ||
> bhakṣyamānaḥ kilāṅgeṣu bhasmībhūto 'bhavat tadā|
> taṃ mudrayitvā tu ghaṭaṃ tathaiva yavanādhipaḥ|
> preṣayām āsa kṛṣṇāya bāhulyam upavarṇayan||
> vāsudevas tu taṃ dṛṣṭvā yogaṃ vihatam ātmanaḥ|
> utsṛjya mathurām āśu dvārakām abhijagmivān||

Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇup. 57, 32–38.

A beautiful (and) excellent city called Dvāravatī was built by Kṛṣṇa in the western ocean – (a city) which put an end to the abundance[43] of its enemies and which possessed golden doors. |35

Having brought the Yadu people to that incomparable (city) which made the numerous 'asuras' without (any) counter-'māyā' ('tanvatyām asura-paṅktim a-prati-māyām),[44] he (Kṛṣṇa) went to see Kālayavana again. |36

Kṛṣṇa ran away, seeing him (Kālayavana) who could not get hurt by (any) weapon and who had destroyed many laws of propriety in the world and Kālayavana also, the tormenter of the best of the gods, shouting ran quickly after him (Kṛṣṇa). |37

Mukunda (Kṛṣṇa) also arrived at the cave which Mucukunda earlier had come to in order to sleep – (Mucukunda) who had obtained a boon from the best of the gods after having brought harsh death to the 'asuras'.[45] |38

He (Kṛṣṇa), possessing proper conduct on account of a state of subordination,[46] walked quickly to the back part (of the cave) and remained standing ('sthitim avāpa') where Mucukunda, who practiced severe austerities, was sleeping heavily.[47] |39

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[43] 'samudreka' means the same as 'udreka' ('preponderance', 'abundance') but is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[44] Nit. does not comment upon 'a-pratimāyām' but I have understood 'māyā' not as having its usual meanings of 'illusion', 'deception', 'trick', etc., but rather as having the earlier one 'extraordinary power' or 'splendour'. The splendour of the 'asuras' was outdone by that of Dvāravatī.

[45] Mucukunda was a king who assisted the gods in their fight against the 'asuras' and therefore got a boon from them. As he had been without sleep for a considerable time, he chose a long and unbroken sleep and was also promised that the first person to disturb him would be reduced to ashes by the fire emanating from his body.

> 'devasahāyyāya svargaṃ gato mucukundaḥ daityān avadhīt tatas tuṣṭair devaiḥ varaṃ vṛṇīṣvety uktaḥ ciram ahorātrayuktena bhagnanidraḥ san nirvighnan nidrān tebhyo vavāra te tathaiva varaṃ daduḥ tadanantaraṃ tava nidrāvighnakṛt tvayekṣitamātra eva bhasmī bhavatv iti devaiḥ ukto mucukundaḥ parvataguhāyāṃ nidrām akarod iti' Nit.

[46] Because of Mucukunda's earlier arrival and his right of priority to the cave, Kṛṣṇa adopts a respectful demeanour towards him.

[47] It is impossible to retain the syntax of the original in the translation.

He (Kālayavana), the unfortunate one, having come with haste thinking: "It is Hari, my enemy", himself struck the sleeping king (Mucukunda) with (his) foot in order to accomplish his destruction. |40

Hardly had he (Kālayavana), who possessed much energy ('sārambhaḥ), been seen by the frightened king (Mucukunda), who had hurriedly woken up, before he (Kālayavana) was reduced to ashes and fell down among those who had committed evil deeds. |41

After that the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) was recognized by the king (Mucukunda) and was saluted reverentially and praised (by him). (Then) the king (Mucukunda) with his (Kṛṣṇa's) permission immediately departed to the mountain Himālaya in order to (practise) true 'yoga'. |42

The Lord, who was devoted to the destruction of (his) enemies, having come forth from the interior of that cave (of Mucukunda), took vast numbers of his (Kālayavana's) army and with a joyful mind he came to his own town. |43

Then another very cunning king, who had obtained[48] the name Brahmadatta and more than Balabhid (Indra) was given to much haughtiness and in whose heart was vile deceit, appeared on earth. |44

He (Brahmadatta) had two sons with the names Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka who were full of many kinds of conceit.[49] To Kṛṣṇa on earth, they were two dreadful enemies, always intent upon much hostility ('vaira-bhūma-avahitau'). |45

To these two (Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka), the praised ones, Maheśa (Śiva) gave invulnerability in the "battle-feast" ('samaramahe') — (Maheśa who was) still more glorious when the great frightening[50] 'bhūtas' (appeared).[51] |46

The great hopes of (their) enemies ('mahā-āśā‿eva‿ābhyām') were extinguished by these two great Śiva devotees ('mahāśaivābhyām') and their father shone as the foremost among kings with his two heroic sons. |47

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[48] Lit. 'had gone to'.

[49] Lit. 'who were receptacles of many kinds of conceit'.

[50] Lit. 'engaged in fear'.

[51] 'samahābhūte bhayaviṣaye ... bhūte' is not entirely clear to me so I am a little uncertain about its translation.

A Brāhman (called) Janārdana, who was the friend of these two (Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka) who were praised because of (their) mass of virtues, was born. That fortunate child (Janārdana) was always full of devotion to the husband of Śrī (Viṣṇu).[52] |48

Having with effort learnt the Dharmaśāstras and the Vedas ('vidita-ācāra-adhyāyāḥ')[53] from an honourable group of 'gurus', they all (Janārdana, Haṃsa, and Ḍibhaka) became devoted to the 'āśrama' of the householder, giving up their fondness for other 'āśramas'. |49

They all, who were of equal mind and age, came once to the lake Puṣkara[54] which contained plenty of water ('salila-ogho yatra') and possessed (many) lake birds and which (also) had the juice of blossoming 'puṣkaras'.[55] |50

The agitated Haṃsa, and Ḍibhaka as well, saw (the ascetic) Durvāsas who was completely pure[56] and free from confusion and who had his abode at the lake (Puṣkara). |51

Haṃsa, because of his addiction to pride which was suffused with respect for the duties of the householder, insulted him (Durvāsas) who was meditating in solitude and who through the perfection of his ascetic duties (he had) undertaken,[57] obtained the (supreme) satisfaction, Brahman.[58,59] |52

52. In **Harivaṃśa** it is told that the king Brahmadatta was childless until he obtained two sons by worshipping Śiva. He had a Brāhman friend Mitrasaha who was also without children. As he was a devout Vaiṣṇava he worshipped Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa). He was promised and got a son who was like Kṛṣṇa himself and therefore was called Janārdana. Janārdana, Haṃsa, and Ḍibhaka, became good friends.

putram ekam dadau tasmai svātmanā sadṛśaṃ hariḥ |
sa ca vipro vinītātmā putram ekam hi labdhavān |
sākṣād iva jagannāthaṃ sthitaṃ putrātmanā nṛpa |
tau kumāravayaṃ caiva trayaḥ savayaso 'bhavan |

Bhaviṣyap. 104, 12a, 15b, 16a, and 17a.

53. 'ācāra' refers to the texts dealing with the established rules of conduct, the Dharmaśāstras, and 'adhyāya' is a chapter from a text, here from the Vedas. In **Harivaṃśa**, it is said, they studied the Vedas and logic:

vedān adhītya te sarvāḥ chrutvā cānvīkṣikīṃ tathā |

ibid., 104, 17b.

54. Puṣkara, mod. Pokhar, is a 'tīrtha' in the district Ajmer in Rājasthān.

55. puṣkara = rājīva, see p. 123 n. 44.

56. 'nirmalam abhitaḥ' lit. means 'pure everywhere'.

57. It is rather difficult to give a lit. translation of 'āttasiddhyā' Nit. interprets: 'svakīyayogapariṇiṣpat(t)yā'.

58. Lit. 'he went to the satisfaction that consisted of being intent upon Brahman'.

59. Haṃsa, about whom it was said in v. 49 that he was 'devoted to the

(Haṃsa said) "I will split this your cane and I will cleave your body and shaven head — you who are full of hypocrisy ('ḍambhavataḥ').[60] O fool! Do you know of any other 'āśrama' that is more important ('mukhyatamam') and pure ('anyaṅkam')[61] than the 'āśrama' of the householder?" |53

He (Haṃsa) desired the cane of him, who had (both) punished and honoured the gods ('kṛta-daṇḍa-namasyaḥ svargibhiḥ'), and he tore his (Durvāsas') brown-coloured garment which had uniform streaks of gold. |54

Taking the good Durvāsas, the 'parama-haṃsa'[62] who had lost his supreme brilliance,[63] (with them), the people (the ascetics), who were happy because of (their) liberality, went to Kṛṣṇa in company with (their) disciples and he (Kṛṣṇa), who has beautiful hands like those of an elephant, said with anger: "Go! I will be the destroyer of Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka. I have no other aim because the ascetics, who have restrained (their) minds, are to be respected." |55-56

Thus saying, the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) gave the brown-coloured garment to them (the ascetics) who on account of (their) wealth of splendour were (like) suns. Then the ascetics, who were free from affliction, went away and after that the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) thought about the annihilation of (his) enemy. |57

Haṃsa, who was devoted to undertaking evil actions and who did not make an effort to hold back (his) envy, came back to his house and decided to perform his father's 'rājasūya' sacrifice. |58

"āśrama" of the householder', slanders Durvāsas because he has left this stage of life and is now carrying out his ascetic practices alone (see also the following verse).

[60] The word 'ḍambha' is found both in the MS and in Nit. but is not recorded in the dictionaries. It seems to be another form for 'dambha' ('deceit, hypocrisy') and might then be a prakritism. See the **Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo**, 2nd ed., Vārāṇasī 1963, p. 372. It could also be a contamination with a non-Aryan word. See KUIPER, **Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit**, Amsterdam 1948, p. 19; cf. **The Pādatāḍitaka ...**, p. 347.

[61] 'anyaṅka' is made up of 'a' + 'nyaṅka'. The latter word is not recorded in the dictionaries but seems to have the same significance as 'aṅka' ('stain'); cf. also 'nyaṅga'.

[62] 'paramahaṃsa' is 'a religious man who has subdued all his senses by abstract meditation' MW.

[63] 'nihataparamaha' might also be interpreted as 'who had destroyed the brilliance of others'.

He (Haṃsa) sent him, who had bowed down to the Eternal One (Kṛṣṇa) and was called Janārdana – him with that famous name – as messenger to Dāśārha[64] for the sake of a sacrifice worthy of a fisherman ('dāśa-arhāya'). |59

"O protector of the Bhojas![65] May you give salt for the sacrifice! You are devoted to the country of the Bhojas. Let the burden of the tribute be borne by (your) head! An article which has been transported by a camel will not be accepted."[66,67] |60

Thus the Brāhman (Janārdana), who was liked by the good yogis – he who was full of devotion and always much given to bowing down to Kṛṣṇa, went immediately on account of (his) friend's (Haṃsa's) words.[68] |61

"Today I consider myself very fortunate. Today my sacrifices have become extremely successful as I go to bow down to the immense[69] body of the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) – (a body) affording a feast for the eyes." |62

Janārdana, who was devoted to goodness ('satva-rataḥ'), thinking thus with an agitated heart, went to Kṛṣṇa. He bowed down (to him) with love and was embraced by the Lord with utmost affection. |63

"O God! O you who are the destroyer of the 'dānavas'! O Supreme Spirit! ('haṃsa')." He (Janārdana), thus saying was not capable of telling about his (Haṃsa's) order and saluting reverentially he stood with eyes filled with tears.[70] |64

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[64] 'dāśārha', lit. 'he who belongs to the Daśārha family (a Yadu tribe)', is a rare name of Kṛṣṇa which occurs in the **Mahābhārata** and the **Harivaṃśa**.

[65] 'bhojapa' ('the protector of the Bhojas') is a name of Kṛṣṇa not found in the dictionaries.

[66] Lit. 'an article which has mounted a camel is not to be taken'. 'karabha' is 'a camel' but Nit. interprets it as meaning 'khara' ('a donkey').

[67] This verse is not very clear. In **Harivaṃśa** Haṃśa's message to Kṛṣṇa is:

dīyatāṃ karasarvasvaṃ yajñārthaṃ sundaraṃ bahu |
lavanāni bahūny adya gṛhya keśava mā ciram ||

Bhaviṣyap. 113,22.

[68] 'gīṣṭaḥ' is a form of 'gir' ('word') with the abl. suffix '-tas'.

[69] 'āyāmin' lit. means 'possessing extension'.

[70] Lit. 'with the look blinded with tears'.

"His (Haṃsa's) words are known to me – he who is tainted with sin[71] and without shame. Sātyaki[72] will give him (my) answer – he who is intoxicated with pride ('mādyataḥ') and who has an opulence like that of Marutta."[73] |65

Thus Śaineya (Sātyaki) was sent away to the enemy (Haṃsa) by the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) who entered into the splendour of the sun ('dhamni viveśa‿aine').[74] Sātyaki, having gone to the merciless Haṃsa, showered[75] him instantly with words like arrows. |66

Thereafter, because of that, a fight broke out between Hari, the protector of the world, who was together with Hārdikya,[76] Rāma, Śinija,[77] and Gada,[78] and the armies of Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka – (the armies) which devoured horses, men, and elephants. |67

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[71] Lit. 'standing in sin'.

[72] Sātyaki was a relative of Kṛṣṇa and acted as his charioteer.

[73] Marutta was a king hailing from Manu and was famous for his immense riches which he displayed at a huge sacrifice where the gods took part.

maruttasya yathā yajñas tathā kasyābhavad bhuvi |
sarvaṃ hiraṇmayaṃ yasya yajñavastu atiśobhanam ||
amādyad indras somena dakṣinābhir dvijātayaḥ |
marutas pariveṣṭāras sadasyas ca divaukasaḥ ||

Viṣṇupurāṇa 4,1,32–33.

cf. also **Yudhiṣṭiravijaya** 1,20:

dharmāt paramatyantaṃ yudhiṣṭhiraṃ nāma dharmaparam atyantam |
bhīmaṃ ca maruttanayaṃ. pārthaṃ śakrād avāpa ca maruttanayam ||

'(Kuntī) obtained Yudhiṣṭhira, who was very wise and extremely devoted to (his) 'dharma', from Dharma and she obtained Bhīma, the son of the wind and from Indra she got Pārtha (Arjuna) who had the conduct of Marutta.'

[74] 'ina' is a rather unusual word meaning 'lord' (see e.g. 4,57) or 'sun'. The adj. formation 'aina' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[75] The compound verb 'ati+kṝ-' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[76] Kṛtavarman, a warrior from the Kuru family mentioned in **Mahābhārata** and **Harivaṃśa.**

[77] Śinija, lit. 'the son of Śini', is a name of Sātyaki not found in the dictionaries but see also **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya,** 7,109:

śinijam ahāvalavaṃ taṃ nipatya bhūriśravā mahābalavantam |
padam atanod anaghoraḥsthale javenaiva vairinodanaghoraḥ ||

'Felling Śinija, who was very strong and who had little pleasure (comm. 'hāvalavaḥ krīḍākaṇoḥ') to the ground, Bhūriśravas, who was cruel in driving away (his) enemies, immediately stamped the spotless chest ('an-agha-uraḥ-sthale') with (his) foot.

[78] Gada was a younger brother of Kṛṣṇa.

The two devotees Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka, being in company with people from Puṇḍra[79] and Kaliṅga[80] and marked with three ashy streaks on the forehead,[81] moved about there (in the battle) roaring like two Rudras (Śivas). |68

There Padmanābha (Kṛṣṇa) hurriedly appeared (in front of) the two persons (Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka) who possessed the boon of Hara (Śiva)[82] and he threw them on the slope of the mountain which was covered with snow.[83] |69

Haṃsa and his younger brother (Ḍibhaka) who were given to shouting fearlessly, on account of Śaṅkara's (Śiva's) boon, could not be killed or wounded (with any) weapon by the energetic ('sa-ihena') Lord (Kṛṣṇa) in the battle. |70

Thereafter, the Lord told Ḍibhaka the untruth, which had been spread by some cunning (person) in the battle, that Haṃsa though being (alive)[84] had relinquished (his) body out of distress. |71

Ḍibhaka, who destroyed (his) enemies in battle ('śatru-noda-kara-ājiḥ') and who was full of affection, heard about his younger brother's (Haṃsa's) death and (much) confused and without hope ('hīnāśam') resorted to Yamunā's flowing waters[85] (where) he abandoned his body. |72

Hearing this, Haṃsa also left (his) army, which had started the battle and possessed (many) generals,[86] and entering into the broad waters of Yamunā, the evil one (Haṃsa) chose[87] (the manner of) his death there ('tatra‿eva pāpinā‿avāry antaḥ'). |73

79. Puṇḍra comprised the greater part of present Bengal and a part of Bihar.
80. Kaliṅga comprised part of present-day Orissa.
81. Three ashy streaks on the forehead indicate worship of Śiva.
82. Refers to Śiva's gift of invulnerability to Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka. See 4,46.
83. Lit. 'which possessed snow'; refers to the Kailāsa mountain:

> kailāsaṃ ca samuddiśya pracikṣepa tato hariḥ|
> tāv upetya gireḥ śṛṅgaṃ kailāsaṣya mahāmate||
>
> **Harivaṃśa**, Bhaviṣyap. 127,25.

84. 'santaṃ vidyamānaṃ jīvantam ity arthaḥ' Nit.
85. Lit. 'the line of Yamunā's water'; 'śritayamunodakarājiḥ āśritayamunodakapravāhaḥ' Nit.
86. 'senāpi' is a somewhat difficult compound. It is composed of the words 'senā' ('army') and 'pi-'. Nit. equates 'pi-' with 'pa-', 'senāpi senāṃ pātīti' and glosses the whole compound with 'senānāyaka' ('general'). A root 'pi-' with the meaning 'to protect' is not known to me. Could the compound instead be composed of the words 'senā' and 'āpi' ('an ally')?
87. 'avāri' is aor. pass. of 'vṛ-'.

The skilful Lord, who had killed the 'asuras'[88] and, as one should know, had the means on whatever occasion[89] to destroy his enemies, went to Dvāravatī through the help of (his) 'māyā'. |74

The Lord (Kṛṣṇa) reached the place (Dvāravatī) where there were no enemies ('apa-arau ... yatra')[90] and the ocean was the moat, Dvāravatī which could not be reached even by Jarāsandha whose only intention was to kill Hari; |75

(Dvāravatī) in which 'ānakas' and 'paṭahas'[91] sounded and whose warriors destroyed the pride and deceit of (their) enemies and where the people possessed riches equal to those of Kubera ('dhanapati') and where its foes became wearied in battle; |76

on whose ground the bird Garuḍa used to walk[92] and to which (Dvāravatī) the wealth of Kubera had resorted; which (Dvāravatī) was in some places beautiful with fluttering edges of banners and with talking parrots in cages;[93] |77

which was fragrant with lines of fresh incense, which possessed decorated roads with rows of beautiful women; which had many glittering ponds and which could not be reached by (any) living being lacking virtue; |78

whose gardens where the cause of the removal of thirst, hunger, and illness of those who had resorted there ('āśrita-tṛṣ-kṣudh-roga-cheda-yoni') and had plantations of 'ketaka'[94] trees and (also) had houses with doors made of iron ('ayas-niketa-kavāṭam') and which (someone from) the low 'asura' world even could not reach. |79

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[88] Haṃsa and Ḍibhaka according to Nit.

[89] That is, 'whenever a disaster was approaching' according to Nit. who also reads '...smārī' ('remembering') instead of '...sthāyī'; 'tatkālopayasmārī tattad vipattiprāptakāla ucitasyopāyasya smaraṇaśīlaḥ'.

[90] In this less common construction the pron. adverb 'yatra' is qualified by the 'bahuvrīhi' compound 'apa-ari'.

[91] 'ānaka' and 'paṭaha' are different kinds of drums; 'ānakaḥ paṭahe bheryaṃ mṛdaṅge dhvanadāmbude' MK.

[92] Lit. 'which was to be walked on the ground by the bird Garuḍa'.

[93] The sequence and contents of vv. 77 and 78 are different in Nit. The first verse consists of line a from v. 77 and line b from v. 78 and the second verse of line a from v. 78 and line b from v. 77.

[94] 'ketaka' = 'ketakī', see p. 114 n. 97.

In that town, which was built by Viśvakarman and (already) earlier was devoted to Viṣṇu ('vaiṣṇave'), Kṛṣṇa,[95] who had completely exterminated the 'asuras', lived happily. |80

Thus Ends Canto Four

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[95] 'vāsavānuja', lit. 'the younger brother of Indra', is a name of Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) not recorded by MW.

Canto Five

Then a certain daughter, who had thighs like the trunk of a 'rambhā'[1] palm and whose undertakings were decisive[2] and beneficial ('amṛdu-hita-ārambhā') was born to king Bhīṣmaka who had deprived the best of his enemies of (their) energy.[3] |1

(The daughter), who was free from shameful behaviour ('tyakta-kalaṅka-nyāyā') and had become very famous by the name of Rukmiṇī and was very virtuous ('sādhīyasyāḥ'), had a brother called Rukmin who (also) possessed good qualities ('sad-guṇa-sādhī'). |2

They considered her (Rukmiṇī) together with the passionate Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa) to be an 'avatāra' of Śrī – (she) who was much honoured on account of her virtues and who had a beautiful body and filled even the gods ('tri-daśān')[4] with desire. |3

Rukmiṇī yearned for Kṛṣṇa to be her beloved – (Kṛṣṇa) who was alone and possessed the dark-blue colour of a cloud. Kṛṣṇa[5] (in his turn) desired her (Rukmiṇī) – (she) who was suitable (for him) and (only) to be won[6] by a manifestation of good qualities. |4

But for both of them, Śrī (Rukmiṇī) and Acyuta, who were much praised by the people, desire, which drives away firmness, increased, not because of seeing (each other) but through the hearing about (each other's) virtues.[7] |5

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[1] The plantain tree, Musa sapientum.

[2] Nit. glosses 'amṛdu' with 'dṛdha'.

[3] Lit. 'who gave sloth to the best of (his) enemies'.

[4] Lit. 'the thirty ones'.

[5] 'cakrin' lit. means 'the discus-bearer'.

[6] Lit. 'to be bought'.

[7] In writing this verse the poet seems to have thought of another famous pair of lovers, Nala and Damayantī. Cf. Mahābhārata, Araṇyakap. 50,16:

tayor adṛṣṭakāmo 'bhūc chṛṇvatoḥ satataṃ guṇān|
anyonyaṃ prati kaunteya sa vyavardhata hṛcchayaḥ||

In that state of affairs ('tatra')[8] (Kṛṣṇa's) enemy Jarāsandha, who possessed (great) speed[9] approached Rukmin and said: "Your sister Rukmiṇī should be given to Śiśupāla and not to the herdsman (Kṛṣṇa)." 6

Thus addressed (by Jarāsandha), Rukmin who was without fear promised himself respectfully the gift of (his) desired sister, to the king of Cedi (Śiśupāla) and not to the Eternal One (Kṛṣṇa). 7

Thereafter Jarāsandha, who was exceedingly efficient ('parama-āyāsī'), took the king of Cedi (Śiśupāla) (along with him) – (Śiśupāla) who had an immense and excellent[10] body and who possessed conspicuous gestures[11] and (a conspicuous) voice ('parama-hāva-rava-puṣam') – and came to the town Kuṇḍina.[12] 8

He (Jarāsandha), who desired the dishonour of Viṣṇu, brought quickly (his) people (to the wedding) – (the people) who were filled with war-cries and had (among them) the two unparalleled (persons) Pauṇḍra and Dantavakra[13] and who on account of the crookedness of their minds had become (very) cruel.[14] 9

When the wedding which was very hard to accomplish,[15] had been heard of through Nārada, who had remembered the splitting up of the enemy army,[16] the fearless Lord (Kṛṣṇa) hastily reached the place where the enemy army was, and the fortunate Rukmiṇī, her mind worshipping the family deity and being followed by attendants, went forth from the women's apartments together with a friend looking[17] in front (of her). 10-11

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[8] 'tasyām avasthāyām' Nit.

[9] 'sandhārin' from 'sam+dhṛ-' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[10] Nit. equates 'vara' here with 'jāmātṛ' ('son-in-law').

[11] 'hāva' is actually a coquettish gesture used mostly about women. Cf. 3,8.

[12] Kuṇḍina or Kuṇḍinapura, probably modern Kondavir, was the capital of Vidarbha where, e.g. Bhīma, Nala's father-in-law, ruled.

[13] Pauṇḍra was an impostor who pretended to be Kṛṣṇa; see 5,70–72. Dantavakra was a 'dānava' who was killed by Kṛṣṇa.

[14] Lit. 'who ... went to cruelty'.

[15] 'virasa' lit. means 'painful', 'displeasing'; 'suvirase sughaṭite' Nit.

[16] According to Nit. 'smṛtaparasenāradataḥ' refers to Kṛṣṇa's victory over Dantavakra. He comments further: 'śatrusenāvidāraṇe darśanotsukāt'.

[17] The fem. form 'avalokanī' is not found in the dictionaries.

The Lord (Kṛṣṇa), the Primeval One, fearlessly reached that place (the temple)[18] and quickly carried her (Rukmiṇī) off – she who had a beauteous body – together with Śaineya, Hṛdikasuta (Hārdikya), Rāma, and Gada who were completely[19] without violence ('a-gadaiḥ)[20] on the battlefield. |12

The attendants of the king of Magadha, who were Śauri's enemies and who were puffed up (with pride) at their prowess and rapidity ('śaurya-raya-sphītāḥ'), withheld him (Kṛṣṇa). Thereafter, placing the burden (Rukmiṇī) in the hands of Baladeva and the others, Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa) returned (to the attendants). |13

All the kings, Jarāsandha, Caidya (Śiśupāla), and (Danta)vakra, lost their strength, on account of Baladeva and the others who were sounding (different) musical instruments, in the battle which was a source of pride and might.[21] |14

Then Rukmin, who was skilful in the sport of battle and whose chariot moreover was adorned with jewels and golden ornaments, became angry with Hari (Kṛṣṇa) on account of the abduction of (his) sister here (at the temple) and also because of the struggle and because of the destruction of the kings. |15

Out of envy he (Rukmin), as he aimed (his) bow ('sa-cāpa-sandhānena'), made the vow "I will not go (back) to my city before the enemy (Kṛṣṇa) has been slain" and thereby he (Rukmin) stopped the Lord (Kṛṣṇa). |16

In the manner of killing kings[22] Hari made him (Rukmin), who had crushed (many) chariots and charioteers, bow down to the earth. He (Kṛṣṇa) together with Ramā (Rukmiṇī) reached his own town (Dvāravatī) and his own people and (thereby) gladdened them. |17

Then two Bhojas, Prasena and Satrājit, whose faces surpassed the lotus (in lustre), were born to Nighna who (continuously) put an end to the decrease of his strength ('nija-bala-hāni-ghnāt')[23] – (Nighna) who was equal to Indra.[24] |18

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[18] 'atra devasthānam' Nit.

[19] 'sutarām' is lit. 'excessively'.

[20] According to the dictionaries 'gada' means 'disease', 'speech' and 'gadā' is 'a mace' but Nit. glosses 'gada' with 'upadrava'.

[21] Lit. 'which afforded pride and might'.

[22] 'hatāvanipati' is an 'avyayībhāva' formation, see p. 136 n. 65.

[23] That is, Nighna at all times retained his might.

[24] 'balahan' ('the slayer of Bala') is not mentioned as a name of Indra by MW. Cf. 'balahantṛ'.

As the sun[25] was pleased, the wise Satrājit, who devotedly made obeisance with (his) body (to it), obtained an excellent jewel (called) Syamantaka. |19

He (Satrājit) presented it to (his) brother (Prasena). A lion immediately killed Prasena in the forest – (Prasena) who held a sword in his hand and together with his horse was putting intoxicated[26] forest animals to death. |20

Having brought to death the lion which came from the 'āśrama', the protector of the bears[27] took the valuable jewel[28] and gave it to (his) young son called Sukumāra to play with – (the jewel) which in the sun produced the utmost radiance and indeed[29] every day emitted[30] eight loads of gold and to whose splendour there was no end.[31] |21-22

When the beautiful (jewel) had disappeared together with the son of Nighna, the Yadu heroes, who were free from passion and confusion, showed (their) apprehension to Kṛṣṇa who was without deceit. |23

Though having a heart (filled with) purity, he (Kṛṣṇa), became tired of (their) accusations[32] and searching for the jewel which had the splendour of the sun he came to[33] the cave, the abode of a snake and in which the bear (Jāmbavat) lived. |24

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[25] 'aryaman' is a rare word for 'sun'; cf. **Śiśupālavadha**, 2,39.

[26] Nit. glosses 'samadān' with 'baliṣṭhān' ('very powerful').

[27] 'ṛkṣapa' is a name of Jāmbavat not found in the dictionaries.

[28] The 'āryāgīti' metre of line a is not completely in order, as it contains one additional syllable, but neither the MS nor Nit. affords any evidence for a different reading.

[29] 'vā' here is not the disjunction 'or', 'either', of the classical language; Nit. glosses 'āgrahe'. It is an instance of an occasional usage of 'vā' restricted to the epic language where it functions as a particle of emphasis and is identical in meaning with 'vai' (SPEIJER, **Sanskrit Syntax**, § 397 and L. RENOU, **Grammaire sanscrite**, p. 517).

[30] The compound verb 'anu+sru-' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[31] Lit. 'whose splendour had lost its limits'.

[32] As Kṛṣṇa earlier had expressed a desire to possess the jewel a rumour circulated among the people that Kṛṣṇa had killed Prasena in order to get the jewel himself. Cf. **Harivaṃśa**, Harivaṃśap. 38,29:

tato vṛṣṇyandhakāḥ kṛṣṇaṃ prasenavadhakāraṇat |
prārthanaṃ taṃ maṇer buddhvā sarvā eva śaśankire ||

The fem. form 'abhiśaṃśā' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[33] 'jahe' is perf. med. of 'hā-' ('to betake oneself to').

When (their) beloved Hari (Kṛṣṇa) had entered the cave, his people, who had accompanied him and who held bows and arrows in (their) hands and were intent on punishing (their) enemies, waited for several days (and) then went (back) to their own town. |25

There (in the cave) Jāmbavat reached Hari (Kṛṣṇa) and immediately they — who were without fear and whose strength was equal to that of the army of the gods and who were (like two) suns to the lotus-faces of their beloved (wives) ('priyā-āsya-tāmarasa-inau')[34] — (began) to fight well.[35] |26

Then, in the battlefield, the wise (Jāmbavat) gradually came to realize that he, who rapidly subdued his (Jāmbavat's) strength and who did not (himself) become in the least exhausted,[36] was Viṣṇu, who is praised on account of his might. |27

The ignorant (Jāmbavat) gave (his) daughter, who on account of (her) voice had a throat like a 'kinnara', and the jewel (he) had obtained from the lion[37] to the son of Devakī who possessed wisdom. |28

He (Kṛṣṇa) brought her,[38] who is incomparable among women,[39] to (his) town which numbered (among its inhabitants) his wife and mother. She, who was called Jāmbavatī gave birth to a son Sāmba who was the foremost[40] in the assembly of the Yadus. |29

Then the broad-shouldered Hari (Kṛṣṇa) gave[41] the jewel to Satrājit. He (Kṛṣṇa) was filled with joy and due to the combat there (in the cave) he removed[42] the burden with the name 'dishonour'.[43] |30

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[34] 'tāmarasa' is a day-lotus which is made to blossom by the sun. In the same way the faces of the wives are made to shine forth.

[35] Notice the rare combination of the prefix 'su' and a finite verb form (L. RENOU, **Grammaire sanscrite**, p. 176). Cf. **Śiśupālavadha**, 6,58 ('suvavau').

[36] Lit. 'went to exhaustion'.

[37] 'kaṇṭhīrava', lit. 'roaring from the throat', is a rare word for lion.

[38] Jāmbavatī, Jāmbavat's daughter.

[39] Lit. 'among those who possess hips'.

[40] Nit. glosses 'arya' with 'śreṣṭha'. The meaning 'excellent' is recorded by MW only as L.

[41] The compound verb 'ni+dā-' is not found in the dictionaries meaning 'give'.

[42] 'nirāsthat nirācakāra' Nit. The compound verb 'nis+ā+sthā-' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[43] That is, he freed himself from the suspicion of having killed Prasena.

The king (Satrājit) having received the valuable jewel, immediately gave his daughter to Kṛṣṇa ('tridhāmne') — she, who was charming and had a gentle smile and was full of passion because of his (Kṛṣṇa's) splendour, was equal to Rukmiṇī. |31

She, who was called Satyabhāmā and was incomparable among women, became the foremost wife of Kṛṣṇa and was as dear as (his own) life (to him) — (Kṛṣṇa) who had defeated his enemies.[44,45] |32

But five others became the dear wives of Hari, who had brought death to (his) enemies and had descended to earth[46] and possessed a splendour equal to that of the gods in heaven and who had eyes like day-lotuses. |33

He (Kṛṣṇa), who had much brilliance, was devoted to his wives among whom Bhīṣmaka's and Satrājit's two daughters (Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā), who were born in good families, had sweet voices, and surpassed Kubera by (their) wealth, shone (the most). |34

Though other faithful love-stricken (women) also gave (him) much delight, these two famous wives of Hari became (his) most esteemed ones.[47] |35

Then (once) Hari, who was very attached to her (Rukmiṇī's) home and contented with the love-sports, was addressed in privacy by the soft-speaking Rukmiṇī, who had come (there) out of love.[48] |36

"O husband! O you whose undertakings are extremely celebrated and whose essence is truth ('mahitatama-ārambha-ṛta-svarūpa')! If there is place for just a little mercy in your heart — you who are the Lord of all the earth-protectors[49] — then I ask for a son." |37

Thus addressed with joy privately by Rukmiṇī who had a gentle smile, Kṛṣṇa[50] said smilingly with affection the (following) words to Rukmiṇī: |38

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[44] Lit. 'who had given defeat to (his) enemies'.

[45] Verse 32 comes after verse 17 in Nit.

[46] Lit. 'who had gone to earth'.

[47] Verse 35 comes before verse 18 in Nit.

[48] The 'āryāgīti' metre of line b is not completely in order, but neither the MS nor Nit. affords any evidence for a different reading.

[49] Nit. also suggests that 'akhilalokapāleśasya' might be split into the voc. form 'akhilalokapāla' and 'īśasya'.

[50] 'viṣvaksena', lit. 'he whose power is everywhere', is a name of Kṛṣṇa.

"On account of a good son, one obtains an abode in heaven and a good reputation in the assemblies of the good. For that reason after seeing the eminent Rudra (Śiva) by means of ascetic practices, I will quickly obtain a son, the foremost of (all) those that destroy (their) enemies ('parantapasāram')." |39

Having spoken thus, the Lord, who is the exterminator of his foes and without whom the world would meet with destruction reached the most excellent of 'badarīs'[51] together with the bird Vainateya (Garuḍa). out |40

(Badarī) which Vasiṣṭa, Jamadagni, Gautama, and Agastya, who perform their worship by the Gangā, visit — (they) who have left sinful actions far behind and whose minds, words, and bodies, are (always) restrained. |41

Then, his mind having immediately attained self-control on account of a state of good yoga, Hari (Kṛṣṇa) stayed at that place (Badarī) (sacred) to Nara and Nārāyaṇa[52] who are the supreme refuge of the three worlds. |42

Then one night, as he was meditating on his own glory with a sharp mind, he (Kṛṣṇa) heard the sound of some wounded (person) who had obtained (true) discrimination:[53] |43

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[51] 'badarī is the jujube tree but here 'the best of "badarīs"' refers to the famous 'āśrama' Badarī, modern Badrīnāth, situated in the Himālayas near one of the sources of the Gaṅgā. It is since ancient times sacred to Viṣṇu in his dual form Nara and Nārāyaṇa (see the following verse), sometimes identified with Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. Viṣṇu is said to have meditated and carried out ascetic practices there once.

yatra viṣṇur jagannāthas tapas taptvā sudāruṇam|
dvidhā 'karot svam ātmānaṃ naranārāyaṇākhyayā||
gaṅgā yatra saricchreṣṭhā madhye dhāvati pāvanī|

Harivaṃśa, Bhaviṣyap. 76, 21—22a.

In **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya**, 5,8, Vāsudeva has given a vivid and beautiful description of Badarī and the mountain Gandhamādana:

līnamṛgīśāvadarīsaṃghaṃ satatopagatadigīśā badarī|
yaṃ vividharṣitatāraṃ rājayate tungaśṛṅgadharṣitatāram||

'Badarī, which is always approached by the lords of the quarters (Indra, Varuna, etc.), makes the Gandhamādana mountain ('yam') exceedingly resplendent — (the mountain) which has numerous caves with the young of animals resting in them and which is filled with different kinds of 'ṛṣis' and whose lofty peak defeats the stars.'

[52] See the preceding note.

[53] Verses 43—58 tell the story of the 'piśāca' Ghantākarṇa (**Harivaṃśa**, Bhavi-

"Where can I see the Supreme Person who shines (everywhere) and is like the 'tamāla' tree (in lustre), by whose manifestation the earth lost its burden[54] (of 'asuras') – he who has put an end to (all) evil beings? |44

"Praise be to him (Kṛṣṇa), the beloved of Śrī, who through his 'avatāras' is the delighter of the whole (world) and who assuming the form of a fish and protecting the Vedas has made the earth free from 'dānavas';[55] |45

ṣyap. 79–83). One night at Badarī, Kṛṣṇa sees two 'piśācas' (flesh-eating beings) who have killed a Brāhman and are feasting on his flesh and blood:

khādantaṃ māṃsapiṭakaṃ pibantaṃ rudhiraṃ bahu || 79,2b.

Requested by Kṛṣṇa one of them, Ghaṇṭākarṇa, tells him that he and his younger brother have been born as 'piśācas'. Ghaṇṭākarṇa became an attendant of Kubera and also a follower of Śiva and in order to be released from his 'piśāca' state he began worshipping the latter who very pleased with him granted him a boon. Ghaṇṭākarṇa asked for liberation. Śiva replied that only Viṣṇu is the bestower of 'mukti':

tataḥ prasanno mām aha vṛṇīṣveti varaṃ haraḥ |
tato muktir mayā tatra prārthitā devasannidhau ||
muktiṃ prārthayamānaṃ māṃ punar āha trilocanaḥ |
muktipradātā sarveṣāṃ viṣṇur eva na saṃśayaḥ || 80,29–30.

Now at his meeting with Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu), Ghaṇṭākarṇa eulogizes him in elaborate hymns and Kṛṣṇa reveals himself in the heart of the 'piśāca':

sa eva ghoraḥ piśāco 'pi dadarśātmani keśavam |
pītakauśeyavāsanaṃ padmākṣaṃ śyāmalaṃ harim || 81,11.

After a new series of hymns of praise Ghaṇṭākarṇa obtains 'mukti' from Kṛṣṇa:

evam astv iti deveśaḥ svargaṃ gaccheti keśavaḥ |
indrātithir bhavān astu tvāṃ pratīkṣya hariḥ sthitaḥ || 83,29.

In vv. 45–49 Vāsudeva has formed Ghaṇṭākarṇa's hymns of praise at his first meeting with Kṛṣṇa into a 'daśāvatāra'. A noteworthy fact is that Buddha is not included. This agrees well with Vāsudeva's general orthodox outlook (see Introduction p. 25). Otherwise the series of 'avatāras' is the traditional one with both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma included to make up for the omission of Buddha. However, this series belongs to a later tradition than that represented by **Harivaṃśa** as "In the epic period the theory of 'avatāras' was still developing. The Mbh. has no systematic account of them. In its appendix, the Harivaṃśa, the list is not yet that of the well-known series." (J. GONDA, **Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism**, Utrecht 1954, p. 125 n. 1).

[54] 'pralaghu' means 'very small' according to the dictionaries but here it means rather 'very light' as the earth was relieved of the burden of the 'asuras'; 'pralaghuḥ gatabhāraḥ' Nit.

[55] Lit. 'has given a state (characterized) by the absence of "dānavas" to the earth'.

"who, assuming the form of a tortoise and abandoning his activities at the shore of the ocean ('dhuta-abdhi-kaccha-pada-īhaḥ'), raised the mountain[56] and whose form which removes the 'daitya' of irrepressible egoism is known as that of a boar; |46

"who, due to the weight of anger (in the form of 'nṛsiṃha'), tore open the breast of the enemy (Hiraṇyakaśipu) with (his) nails which pulverize (his) numerous foes; who (in the form of a dwarf) at forenoon measured the immeasurable three worlds with only three steps; |47

"who (as Paraśurāma) seized the axe and who (as Rāma) through the slaying of Rāvaṇa brought about an end[57] to the utmost distress (of the people), (and) who, hurling (his) plough that brings destruction to the demons, quaffed the most excellent wine; |48

"by whom the womb of Devakī was purified and who joyfully and readily protected the cattle; by whom (as Kalki) the earth is to be purified (during the Kali age) – he who has performed battles and has allowed the (world) to be overcome by the Kali (age);[58] |49

"whom the multitudes of ascetics comprehend due to the correct concepts derived from the 'āraṇa'.[59] Now then, in what direction did he (Kṛṣṇa) go, he who is the cause of the entire world? Where can I see the Supreme Person who is praised by the ascetics ('āpakva-nutam')?[60] |50

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[56] The Mandāra mountain which at the churning of the ocean was used as a churning staff and placed at the back of Viṣṇu (in the form of a tortoise) who had seated himself at the bottom of the ocean of milk.

[57] 'rahaṇa', derived from 'rah-' is a rare word which lit. means 'abandoning', 'deprivation'. Cf. also **Nalodaya** 2,14a:

sahakāravṛte samaye sahakā rahaṇasya ke na sasmāra padam|

[58] 'vitīrṇakalitaraṇena' is a difficult expression which lit. means 'he who has given the overcoming by the Kali age'; 'vitīrṇakalitaraṇena vitīrṇaṃ dattaṃ kalirūpeṇa taraṇam avatāro yeneti vigrahaḥ' Nit.

[59] The **Āraṇyakas**. See p. 115 n. 108.

[60] 'āpakva' is listed in the dictionaries with the meanings 'raw', 'not quite ripe', etc. Here 'ā-' + an adj. has its usual meaning in classical Sanskrit of 'a little' (see L. RENOU, **Grammaire sanscrite**, p. 95). Sometimes, however, 'ā-' is understood as meaning 'completely', being an abbreviation of 'samantāt' (cf. p. 118 n. 8 and see, e.g. Mallinātha's comm. to 'ānīlamukham' in **Raghuvaṃśa**, 3,8). That is how Nit. understands 'ā-' in 'āpakva'. It refers to a person who is 'completely ripe' or 'completely developed', that is, an ascetic; 'āpakvanutam āpakvaiḥ pariṇataiḥ munibhir iti'.

"This (my) birth is exceedingly miserable on account of a great appetite for flesh and marrow of living beings. (Kṛṣṇa) who has lotus-like eyes and is protecting me to a great extent, has attached himself to the state of mercy ('mām adhikaṃ pālatayā nalinākṣena‿āśritā‿anukampālayatā').[61] |51

"O Kṛṣṇa, grant me the attainment of my desire joyfully together with the pure knowledge which removes (my) afflictions and is fit for a person pained by the impurity of ignorance, for I have spent a long time in delusion ('vyatītakālaṃ mayā samunmede hi')."[62] |52

Thus saying, Ghaṇṭākarṇa, who on account of the number[63] of good deeds (performed in earlier lives) was the foremost of the 'bhāgavatas', came in a worshipful posture while causing the destruction of the Brāhman.[64] |53

He (Ghaṇṭākarṇa) again saw the Supreme Being coming forward[65] who was more beautiful than (all other) persons and much darker than collyrium. |54

"Oh! ('hā hī) alas! ('hāhā)[66] this is Kṛṣṇa, Govinda, the destroyer of the (evil) deeds of the great snake (Kāliya) ('mahā-ahi-īhā-hā')."[67] (Ghaṇṭākarṇa), thus saying and showing due respect (ṛta-nama-syaḥ), performed a dance before the Lord of Śrī (Kṛṣṇa) ('na na ... tatāna nartanam'). |55

He, being confused, reached Kṛṣṇa quickly, his mind being (just) a little clear ('ā-śubhra-antaḥkaraṇaḥ'), and bowing down to the earth he gave the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) the flesh obtained from the slain Brāhman. |56

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[61] Line b is very corrupt in the MS and the reading presented here is based on Nit. It is a most difficult line and an approximate literal translation would be: 'the state of the abode of mercy was resorted to by him who has lotus-like eyes and is protecting me to a great extent'.

[62] The compound verb 'sam+ud+mad-' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[63] 'avatāna' from 'ava+tan-' means 'a cover', 'the stretching of a bow', or 'a tendril' according to the dictionaries. Here it refers, however, to something that is stretched in a quantitative sense, 'a group'; 'avatānāt samūhād vistārādvā' Nit.

[64] That is, while eating the flesh of the Brāhman killed earlier.

[65] Lit. 'going to a place in front'.

[66] 'hā hī vismaye hāhā khede' Nit.

[67] This line with its 'hā hī' sounds seems to be inspired by **Harivaṃśa**, Bhaviṣyap. 79,2a, where it is said about Ghaṇṭākarṇa and his brother:

lambakeśau virūpakṣau hi hi hā heti vādinau|

As the shining Lord (Kṛṣṇa), who is devoted to driving away the evil ones, became (very) pleased with that ('tatra'), his (Ghaṇṭākarṇa's) sins, being confined to the collection of (his) sense organs[68] ('akṣa-āli-antaḥsthitāni'), were then completely washed away. |57

When the host of gods was uttering words filled with praise the Lord of the 'vetālas' (Ghaṇṭākarṇa) suddenly went away from the huge mountain and became one of those in Viṣṇu's abode:[69] |58

"Oh, wretched people! If there is any desire among you for the cleansing of (your) impurities and for the gaining of heaven and for liberation, then practise the 'rasa' of devotion towards Viṣṇu's excellent form!" |59

Viṣṇu reached the beautiful Kailāsa mountain from Badarī, which possessed slopes and caves, and enduring heat ('ātapaseviṣṇuḥ')[70] (and cold) he remained there (Kailāsa) for the sake of severe meditation making obeisance to Rudra (Śiva). |60

When the Lord (Kṛṣṇa), who had lotus-like eyes, was staying on the top of the mountain which is white with snow (Kailāsa), the god (Śiva), the husband of Umā, came swiftly and said to the Lord (Kṛṣṇa): |61

"O Vaikuṇṭha (Kṛṣṇa)! Why are you doing this? Where is the indolence in your actions as you possess a body which has an eager desire for the forest lands ('vana-sthalī-lālasitam')[71] which shines with beauty ('līlā-lasitam').[72] |62

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[68] 'akṣan', usually meaning 'eye', occurs here in its rare sense of 'an organ of sense'.

[69] Lit. 'from the huge mountain he suddenly became one who had gone to the abode of Viṣṇu'.

[70] 'seviṣṇu' belongs to the rare adj. durative formations in -(i)snu. Forms from about only fifty different roots have been found and 'seviṣṇu' is not recorded so far. These forms are especially recommended by Bhāmaha:

tāc chīlyādiṣu ceṣyante sarva eva tṛṇādayaḥ |
viśeṣeṇa ca tatreṣṭā yuckurajvarajiṣṇucaḥ ||

Kāvyālaṃkāra 6,48.

For a list of these -(i)snu formations see WHITNEY, **Sanskrit Grammar**, 2nd ed., Cambridge (Mass.), § 1194. See also L. RENOU, **Études de grammaire sanscrite**, Première série, Paris 1936, p. 110 and p. 136 n. 43, id. **Sur la structure du Kāvya**, p. 101 n. 203, and id. **Grammaire sanscrite**, p. 215.

[71] 'lālasita' is the same as 'lālasa' and 'lālasatā' but is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[72] This is a very difficult verse about whose interpretation I am a little uncertain. The meaning seems to be that Śiva asks Viṣṇu whether something has

"But if, O Śrīdhara, you have a longing for a son from me in order to annihilate the race of Diti, then this has already been done by me for you – the bestower of boons – and (the birth of) an excellent son and heir has (already) been arranged. |63

"And for what reason did I earlier burn Smara (Kāma) (to ashes) with the fire from my eye and besides (for what reason) did I become still more deeply engaged in his (Smara's) (re)birth? – because of the request of Rati. |64

"Him, whom the world will not endure, I give to you as (your) son. Protecting the glory of the Brāhmans, he will become famous in the world by the name of Pradyumna."[73] |65

Thus saying, Śambhu (Śiva) then expounded the Supreme Truth for the cessation of doubts and erring paths to the great 'ṛṣis' who, engaged in making obeisance and filled with utmost joy, had come there. |66

"He (Kṛṣṇa), who is without beginning or end ('dadhad apa-ādi-antatvam'), is the (ultimate) Truth which is proved in the three Vedas, the highest splendour, the essence of consciousness, and placing him in their hearts, the best of ascetics lead their lives. |67

O you (all) who are most pure! Always bow down to me! I myself will place him (Kṛṣṇa) near (me) and therefore I say to each one of you ('pṛthak') that he (Kṛṣṇa) is the one to be known ('gamyaḥ'). Know me to be (only) a guide ('gamaka-bhūtam')."[74] |68

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happened which makes his actions unsuccessful as he has come to Kailāsa to perform ascetic practices. This and the following verse correspond to **Harivaṃśa,** Bhaviṣyap. 88,3–5a:

kim idaṃ devadeveśa cakrapāṇe janārdana |
tapaścaryā kim arthaṃ te prārthanā tava kā vibho ||
svayaṃ viṣṇur bhavān nityas tapas tvaṃ tapasāṃ hare ||
putrārthaṃ yadi te deva tapaścaryā janārdana ||
putro datto mayā deva pūrvam eva jagatpate |

[73] Pradyumna is regarded as an incarnation of Kāma.

[74] This and the preceding verse of philosophical import are rather complicated. They want to convey the idea that Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) is Ultimate Reality and Śiva the part leading to it. In **Harivaṃśa,** Bhaviṣyap. 89,14, Śiva says:

dhyātvā māṃ sarvayatnena tato jānīta keśavam |
upāsyo 'haṃ sadā viprā upasye 'smin harau smṛtaḥ ||

Thus having spoken, the Lord (Śiva), who wore a garment of skin,[75] went from there (Kailāsa) to his own abode. Then he, Hari, came back with haste to Badarī from the mountain (agataḥ) riding on[76] Garuḍa.[77] |69

When the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) had gone to the mountain Kailāsa which proclaimed[78] its beauty to the world,[79] Pauṇḍraka,[80] who possessed a powerful 'māyā', came to Dvāravatī. |70

He, who gave food and drinks to the dogs ('kukkura-bhojana-rasa-das')[81] killed a number[82] of people of the Kukkuras and Bhojas[83] and he obstructed Rāma and Yuyudhāna (Satyaki) and between these a battle started which ruined the (whole) world. |71

Then Kṛṣṇa, drawing his long[84] bow, came to Pauṇḍraka also and he, who had sheltered the glory of numerous 'asuras', set in motion his shining discus and cut him (Pauṇḍraka) into pieces. |72

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[75] 'kṛttivāsas' is usually a skin made from the hide of some antelope or deer. Nit., however, regards it as an elephant hide.

[76] Lit. 'gone to'.

[77] 'nāgāda', lit. 'snake-eater', is a name of Garuḍa not listed in the dictionaries.

[78] Lit. '... gāya' is 'sang'; '-ga' from 'gai-' is used as a final member of a compound.

[79] 'jagadvilāsanagāya' is a most difficult compound about whose interpretation I am not sure. Nit.'s comm. is not clear. The question is, what does 'vilāsana' refer to here? Nit. seems to gloss it twice: the first time by 'līlā', the second by 'utkarṣa'. If the first interpretation is accepted the compound could either mean that the mountain 'sang about the sport in the world' or, which I think is more probable, that it 'proclaimed its beauty to the world'. However, normally words like 'vilāsana' and 'līlā' are not associated with objects like mountains (cf. p. 103 n. 14). If the interpretation 'utkarṣa' (then being the same as 'utkarṣaṇa') is accepted, it would mean that 'the mountain proclaimed its eminence to the world'. This meaning of 'vilāsana', however, has not been recorded in the dictionaries.

[80] Pauṇḍraka pretended to be Kṛṣṇa while the latter was away in the Himālayas. After many battles with the Yādavas headed by Balarāma and Sātyaki, he was finally killed by Kṛṣṇa who had returned from Kailāsa.

[81] Actually Pauṇḍraka was a king. It seems as if for the sake of 'yamaka' the poet has given him the attribute 'kukkura-bhojana-rasa-das'.

etasminn eva kāle tu pauṇḍro nṛpavarottamaḥ|
balavān sattvasampanno yoddhā vipulavikramaḥ||

Harivaṃśa, Bhaviṣyap. 91,1.

[82] Lit. 'sadas' means an 'assembly'.

[83] The Kukkuras and the Bhojas were two groups of people belonging to the Yadu race.

[84] Lit. 'āyatatāvat' means 'possessing length'.

Having obtained an offspring equal to himself from Sthānu (Śiva) and coming to his goddess (Rukmiṇī), Kṛṣṇa told her his story including that of the 'piśāca'. |73

A son with the name of Pradyumna, who gave joy to the whole earth and was dear to both the world[85] and Hari, was born of her (Rukmiṇī) to him (Kṛṣṇa) – (Kṛṣṇa) who puts an end to hundreds of (his) enemies. |74

(The 'asura') Śambara, whose death is well-known and who was intent on putting an end to the activities of (his) enemies, pulled out (Pradyumna) from (his) enemy's house and threw him into the waters of the ocean. |75

Having heard from Nārada, who delights in religious austerities, that he (Pradyumna) had fallen down into the ocean for the sake of destroying the enemy (Śambara), (some) fishermen rescued[86] him (Pradyumna). What assertion of a credible person[87] is not true ('na‿āptavāk kā‿eva‿ṛtā')? |76

From the fishermen, who have always hopes of selling fish, he (Pradyumna) went quickly to the 'asura's' (Śambara's) wife Māyāvatī-Rati,[88] who was full of 'māyā'. |77

She ('Māyāvatī-Rati), who was much respected, brought up Kāma (Pradyumna) as if he was a beloved son and further, she became aware that he was her beloved (Kāma) manifested – (he) who had beautiful thighs. |78

Having heard about the wondrous happening[89] from Rati (Māyāvatī), Pradyumna[90] angrily engaged in deceitful combat ('māyāsamaram') and rapidly slew Śambara who was full of exertion. |79

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[85] Lit. 'janitotsavabhūveṣṭa' means 'who produced joy for the circumference of the earth'. 'veṣṭa' is an 'enclosure'; MW only L. Nit. glosses it with 'maṇḍala'.

[86] Lit. 'seized'.

[87] 'āptavāk' is a word 'vāk' from '(a person who is) trustworthy' ('āpta').

[88] In the same way as Pradyumna is identified with Kāma, Māyāvatī is identified with Rati.

[89] 'caryā' is lit. 'a practice', 'behaviour', or 'motion'. Nit. glosses it here with 'vṛttānta'.

[90] 'kusumaketu', lit. 'he whose sign is flowers', is a name of Kāma used here about Pradyumna as he is believed to be an incarnation of him.

(Then) Kāma (Pradyumna), who had an extremely rich splendour ('pari-puşkala-bhaḥ'), came together with the gentle-speaking Rati to his parents who had all the time been afflicted with pain. |80

At one time a son, Aniruddha, was born to him (Pradyumna) – (Aniruddha) who could not be restrained in battle. The beloved daughter of Rukmin was married to him (Aniruddha) who had gone to her house ('tad-āyatana-yātena'), and there, at the gambling-session, Rukmin, who gave offence both to gods and men and had a passion for gambling, was killed by Halin (Balarāma) who was as beautiful as a pearl and put an end to his (Rukmin's) luck.[91] |81-82

Also, during the hot season[92] the Yamunā became crooked[93] being dragged along by him with the axe, while making tens of millions of cries[94] and the city of the Kurus (Hastināpura), shaken by him, became unstable.[95] |83

A wife[96] called Revatī was obtained by Rāma, who is pleasing to the world, (and) from her he also obtained many offsprings who were free from affliction.[97] |84

Thus the great-souled Lord's (Kŗşṇa) exceedingly splendid great family, which was filled with joy[98] and undefeated by the gods, was increased by (his) beloved sons. |85

Thus Ends Canto Five

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[91] 'phalaka' is here the same as 'phala' ('result, gain').

[92] Lit. 'during the calamity of the heat'.

[93] Lit. 'reached a state of crookedness'.

[94] Once, while intoxicated, Balarāma asked the Yamunā to come to him that he might bathe. The river refused and angrily he dragged the water towards him with his axe. Crying Yamunā asked for his forgiveness.

[95] After this verse Nit. comments upon another not found in the MS.

[96] 'prāṇasamā', lit. 'as dear as life'. Cf. 'asusama' ('husband') in **Yudhişţhira-vijaya,** 1,13.

[97] Lit. 'dattatāpatyajana' means 'who had given abandonment to affliction'.

[98] 'maha-ākulam', Nit. glosses 'maha' with 'utsava' ('joy') but it could also mean 'splendour'.

Canto Six

Then again when the Supreme Person was protecting the earth with an unblemished mind[1] a 'daiteya' who tormented heaven and earth ('rodasī') with his splendour, was born; |1

whose father was Hari, the creator of (all) the worlds and whose mother was the earth, the origin of everything, and he, who was firm and without intelligence and the cause of people's anger, was known by the name of Naraka;[2] |2

(he) who had a town called Prāgjyotiṣa, compared with which no (other) towns were more important[3] and who definitely occupied a place in the interior of the 'pātāla' ('sthitikṛt pātālasya sphuṭam udare') — he who had given suffering[4] and lack of energy to (his) enemies. |3

He (Naraka) carried off an excellent ('adhikam') multitude of girls from (all) directions and thereafter in order to place them (somewhere) he made a mountain here (Prāgjyotiṣa) — (a mountain) which gave pleasure[5] to all beings and whose soil was filled with jewels. |4

The Supreme Person's (Kṛṣṇa's) beautiful future wives, who had been born for the sake of becoming spouses ('jātā jāyātvāya'), were placed there (the mountain) — (the Supreme Person) who having come to earth remained there, being free from passion since birth. |5

The mother of the gods (Aditi) was deprived of her ear-rings by that ill-behaved person (Naraka) in heaven — (the person) who yoked (his) chariot well[6] and swiftly defeated Indra[7] in battle. |6

[1] Lit. 'uninjured mind'.

[2] Nit. comments upon a different reading of line b.

[3] A lit. translation of 'yasyā na garīyasyaḥ puryaḥ' is not possible.

[4] 'pāta' means 'death'; Nit. glosses it with 'duḥkha'.

[5] One of the meanings of 'laya' given by MW is 'diversion'; Nit. glosses it with 'vilāsana'.

[6] 'sad+yuj-' is an example of a less common combination of an adj. with a verb root.

[7] 'saṅkrandana' lit. means 'shouting'.

Sent by the mother of the gods, however, Śakra (Indra) came to the town of the Lord of Śrī (Kṛṣṇa), the good protector of Ramā ('su-ramā-trātuḥ'), and he reached Kṛṣṇa[8] who is dear to good people and the destroyer of Naraka. |7

Then immediately, having mounted Garuḍa,[9] who was shining in the sky, the Lord (Kṛṣṇa), together with Rāma and Satyā (Satyabhāmā), came to Naraka's town. But, at that moment, to what 'dānava' did not calamity come! |8

There the 'murajas',[10] who made the host of gods lose hope who had razors and fetters and sounded many kinds of drums and who held Janārdana in low esteem, (tried to) cut him up. |9

Their shining fetters, shorn off by (Kṛṣṇa's) discus – (fetters now) destroying the hopes of the evil Naraka[11] ('kṣata-aśubha-asurapa-āśāḥ') – fell to the ground. The Lord (Kṛṣṇa) made the lives of these sons of Muraja shortened.[12] |10

When his sons, who had firm strength ('mūrcchitatarassu'),[13] had fallen, Mura rushed with extreme fury against Kṛṣṇa and showered (his) breast with arrows – (the breast) which possessed strength and was adorned with the Kaustubha jewel. |11

Then, exceedingly wrathful, Hari sent (his) discus plunging into Mura's uninjured breast – (the discus) which had a fearful appearance and possessed shoots of fiery flames and a garland of razors to cut its enemies. |12

Quickly causing the other great 'asuras' to fall to the ground here (in the battle), he laughed and (then) out of anger he engaged (himself) in fighting with Naraka.[14] |13

8. 'pītavāsas' lit. means 'he who wears a yellow garment'.

9. 'virāj', lit. 'the king of birds', here refers to Garuḍa. This sense of the word is not recorded in the dictionaries.

10. 'muraja' lit. means 'a son of the demon Mura'.

11. 'asurapa', lit. 'the protector of the asuras', is a name of Naraka not found in the dictionaries; 'asurapasya narakasya' Nit.

12. Lit. 'deficient'.

13. Nit. interprets 'taras' as meaning either 'strength' or 'speed', 'taraḥ balaṃ vego vā'.

14. According to MW 'dharaṇisuta' is a 'metron. of Aṅgiras or the planet Mars' L. Here, of course, it refers to Naraka.

In the battle, the multitude of his enemies became completely destroyed[15] by the plough-bearing Rāma, the bull,[16] who was sporting similarly. |14

Naraka, holding a bow, pierced Kṛṣṇa with great showers of frightful arrows – (arrows) that shattered the might of (his) enemies – and causing him to bend down, made him exhausted. |15

When Hari became exhausted here (in the battle), Satyā, who is known as the foremost strength of him who is praised in the collection of the three Vedas, fought with her two arms that attracted the eyes of the good. |16

Then at that moment, having freed himself from delusion,[17] Janārdana, who is extremely adorable to (all) good people, rapidly cut his enemy (Naraka) into pieces with his discus – (Naraka) the author of evil and enmity. |17

On account of the death of (her) son, with a very distressed heart the earth seemed as if a little angry (and) having bowed down, she gave (her) husband the two ear-rings obtained from the foremost of (her) sons (Naraka). |18

The limitless[18] riches in the enemy's (Naraka's) house, as well as the love-stricken ('sa-māraḥ') multitudes of women and the mountain of jewels were loaded on Garuḍa by Hari. |19

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[15] 'arīṇānta' lit. means 'one who has a perfect death'. 'arīṇa' from 'rī-' ('to melt') is a rare word, only observed in the **Naiṣadhacarita** with the meaning 'perfect'. See 'guṇair arīṇair' ('with perfect qualities') in 15,8. Cf. also L. RENOU, **Sur la structure du kāvya,** p. 98 n. 183. The word is part of the Sanskrit vocabulary in Malayalam. See the **Malayalam Lexicon,** Vol. 1, s.v.

[16] 'gali' is glossed with 'vṛṣa' by Nit. MW translates it as 'a young steer' and records it as only L. But see also **Tripuradahana** 1,16:

> yasya ca vekuṇṭheṣu sneho yasyārir āhave kuṇṭheṣuḥ |
> galinoccāraveṇa sphuṭam atato yasya doṣṇi carāv enaḥ ||

'For whom (Śiva) there is affection for the 'vekuṇṭha'[a] flowers and whose enemies bear blunt arrows in the battle and on whose beautiful forearm there is an antelope and who wanders about with a bull crying loudly.'

[a] 'vekuṇṭha' is not found in the dictionaries. The comm. glosses it with 'droṇapuṣpa', the flower of Leucas linifolia; MW only L.

[17] 'tamaḥ moham' Nit.

[18] 'an-iyattā-vat' means 'not having a "fixed measure or quantity" MW'.

With the shining Garuḍa, who was like a mountain, the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) came to the very wonderful outskirts[19] of Amarāvatī that caused dejection among (its) enemies. |20

Having given the pair of ear-rings to Aditi, he[20] (Kṛṣṇa), who was intent upon destroying[21] the reproaches of (his) enemies and was in company with Satyā and Rāma, saw the beauty of the garden of the abode of the gods. |21

Then Hari, having received a request from the mouth of Satyabhāmā, for the sake of her happiness ('tad-ānandanataḥ') bore away the 'kalpakavṛkṣa' tree from the Nandana garden which enjoyed the respect of the assembly of the gods. |22

Seeing the auspicious 'kalpataru' tree placed on Garuḍa by him (Kṛṣṇa) who puts an end to the anger of his enemies, the guardians stopped Hari who was walking away with these words:[22] |23

"Who in the world being free from blemishes and pride of battle and having gone to the Nandana garden, is capable of bearing away from here this jewel of a tree which is the ornament of heaven and has not been given by the darling of Puloma?[23] |24

"What other woman (besides Indra's wife) is capable of wearing the very fragrant wreath of flowers, coming from the heavenly tree — a wreath which possesses (a swarm) of agitated[24] bees at the edges and is the ornament of the beloved of Indra?"[25] |25

Satyā, who was equal to Rati, said to them (the guardians): "And who is able enough to stop me when the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) takes away the tree from here?" Thus saying she made a frightening sound ('huṅkāram'). |26

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[19] 'paryanta' lit. means 'limit', 'border'.

[20] 'sa' is missing in the MS but found in Nit.

[21] 'diti' lit. means 'cutting', 'splitting'; recorded as L. by MW.

[22] According to Nit. vv. 23-50 constitute interpolated verses. Concluding his commentary to v. 50 he remarks: 'arivargaruḍaṃtenetyārambha etadantānāṃ ślokānām asādhutvāt prakṣiptatvam'. Nit.'s statement might have some foundation as these verses are also missing in an uncatalogued manuscript of the **Śauri-kathodaya** in Malayalam characters, which is preserved in the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library.

[23] 'pulomanandanā' is a name of Indra's wife Śacī not found in the dictionaries.

[24] Nit. glosses 'āttasambhrama' with 'kṛtādara' ('showing respect').

[25] Lit. 'he who has the thunderbolt as his weapon'.

They (the guardians), rushing to the abode[26] (of Indra), said to Śacī: "O Goddess! Satyā, having come to heaven together with (her) husband, is quickly taking away your property (the tree)." Then she (Śacī) went to[27] (her) husband. |27

Indra,[28] the sole Lord of the world, was addressed by Śacī, who was very exhausted due to the burden resulting from the weight of her breasts and in (whose) hair a garland from the 'kalpataru' tree rested, (thus): |28

"O husband! One woman, whose undertakings have no limits and who possesses much beauty,[29] has come to heaven together with her husband whose love is favourable (towards her) and is (now) taking it away from here – (the tree) whose buds worn around her head, are shining greatly." |29

Thus, on account of the words of (his) wife, the Lord of the gods (Indra), who bore weapons in battle, came directly to Kṛṣṇa with haste and stopped him together with the army of the gods and (his) elephant. |30

Then in battle the host of the gods together with the 'vasus' and the 'sādhyas',[30] who are not easily subduable, were immediately defeated by Viṣṇu – (the host of the gods) which included the Aśvins, the Maruts, the sun, and Skanda[31] and (also) the moon, Kubera ('dhanada'), Śiva, and the son of Skanda. |31

The troops of the gods went forth crying in all directions leaving Śakra sitting on (his) elephant and injured by the arrows of Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa) they hastened towards Hari. |32

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[26] 'adhivasati mandirasamīpam avyayam' Nit.

[27] Lit. 'reached'.

[28] 'jambhārāti', lit. 'the enemy of Jambha' (Indra).

[29] I have taken 'atiśrī' as qualifying 'kācana', but it might just as well qualify 'yatkalikā'.

[30] The 'vasus' are eight deities who are attendants of Indra. The 'sādhyas' are twelve lesser Vedic deities in later periods superseded by the 'siddhas'.

[31] 'śākha' and 'viśākha' in the following verse, can both refer to Skanda as well as to a manifestation of him, regarded as his son. I have rendered 'śākha' as Skanda and 'viśākha' as the son of Skanda.

Śakra, seeing the army of the gods departing immediately out of fear, thereafter let loose a shower of arrows that was unobstructed ('nirbādhām') (everywhere) except ('anyatra')[32] at Tridhāman (Kṛṣṇa) here. |33

The two enraged Haris (Viṣṇu and Indra) riding on[33] Garuḍa and Airāvata fought with each other with (great) noise and with a large number of dreadful weapons that caused damage to (their) enemies. |34

A mutual fight broke out between Airāvata and Garuḍa ('karivinatā-nandanayoḥ'),[34] who were the seats of Indra and Mukunda and resembled the 'kunda' and 'asana' flowers in lustre[35] and who delighted all the gods. |35

In the battle-front ('yuddhamūrdhani') Śakra held (his) thunderbolt, which cleaves mountains, and bit (his) lips in rage and also Hari, who had held back (his) enemies, seized wrathfully (his) discus.[36] |36

Seeing this, as the gods were moving unsteadily, the clear-minded Lord of the gods (Indra)[37] hurled quickly (and) angrily (his) mighty thunderbolt against the enemy of Kaṃsa (Kṛṣṇa).[38] |37

The iron thunderbolt, which had (only) a little brilliance, reached his (Kṛṣṇa's) breast like a shoot — (the breast) which is the abode of Śrī — and the Supreme Person, who is the slayer of his foes, full of laughter, set loose (his) discus towards him (Indra). |38

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[32] 'anyatra tridhāmnaḥ vyatiriktasthale' Nit. 'anyatra' meaning 'except' or 'without' is normally construed with the abl. (SPEIJER, **Sanskrit Syntax**, p. 132 and L. RENOU, **Grammaire sanscrite**, p. 172). Here, however, it is construed with the loc. But in a few inscriptions instances of 'anyatra' with locative have been found (L. RENOU, loc. cit.). See, e.g. the inscription of Rudradāman v. 10:

satyapratijñena anya(t)ra saṃgrāmeṣv abhimukhāgata-
sadṛśaśatruprahараṇavitaraṇatvaviguṇari(pu) ...

(Quoted from **Twenty-five Sanskrit Inscriptions**,
Ed. by J. GONDA, Leiden 1948, p. 8).

[33] Lit. 'gone to'.

[34] Lit. 'the elephant and the darling of Vinatā'.

[35] Airāvata is white like the 'kunda' flower and Garuḍa yellow like the 'asana' flower; 'nandyāvartapītasārapuṣpasadṛśayoḥ dhavalasvarṇayor ity arthaḥ' Nit.

[36] Lit. 'he became a person who had seized (his) discus'.

[37] 'dyusatpati' is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[38] 'adhikaṃsāri' is in fact an 'avyayībhāva' formation consisting of 'adhi' and a noun, see p. 136 n. 65.

Seeing (his) thunderbolt powerless and without success with regard to Kṛṣṇa ('cakriṇi'), Indra, who had lost the battle ('sa-vilakṣa-raṇaḥ')[39] and was (like) an elephant[40] with a trickling of (only) a small amount of rut, became rapidly terrified there. |39

When Śakra, the tormentor of evil persons, became frightened then Satyā said, bursting out in laughter:[41] "O Lord of the gods (Indra)! O you whose nourishment is the sacrifice! Do not be afraid. For there is no power for one who is full of fear.[42,43] |40

O Indra ('vāsava')! Receive this tree from me — (the tree) which has manifested bees intoxicated with the juice of flowers. O Lord of the gods ('ina dyusadām')! O you who are free from deceit! Go with this tree to the place of Śacī!" |41

Thus having heard from the mouth of Hari's wife (Satyabhāmā), he (Indra) said, realizing the truth and making the gods look up (to him):[44] "O Satyā! You uphold the world. |42

"O Satyā! You are the earth, the incomparable, full of pride, who has satisfied Kṛṣṇa — (you) whose husband is this Viṣṇu (inside whom) the three worlds exist. |43

"(The earth) who, being divided up, was given by king Priyavrata, the son of Manu and whose conduct is praised by the most excellent of the twice-born, to (his) seven sons who possessed good discipline;[45,46] |44

"who, being terrified and tormented, bestowed an unafflicted abundance of the means of livelihood such as trading etc. on king Vainya[47] who is the author of the establishment of lawfulness; |45

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[39] 'vilakṣa' actually means 'missing its mark (as an arrow)' MW.

[40] 'stamberama', lit. 'delighting in clumps of high grass' MW, is a word for elephant.

[41] Lit. 'producing a laughter'.

[42] 'bhī+mat' is a rare combination. MW records it only from the **Nalodaya.**

[43] The final 'na', found in Nit., is missing in the MS without which the sentence would not yield any good sense.

[44] 'anavāñc' lit. means 'not bending down'.

[45] Lit. 'who had obtained good discipline'. Nit. glosses 'yāta' with 'prāpta'.

[46] This verse alludes to Prīyavrata's chasing of the sun and his subsequent assignment of the rule of the seven continents to his sons.

[47] The son of Vena, another name of the righteous and lawful king Pṛthu.

Hiraṇyākṣa

"who, instilling terror in multitudes of foes, was in former times rescued by him who had assumed the form of a boar from the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, the hero who is beneficial to the (other) demons (but) who was deprived of his life; |46

"who, possessing numerous mountains, rivers, villages, and towns (as well as) water, was measured in three strides by that Lord, obtaining (her) from Bali, who is (my) younger brother (Viṣṇu), (my) ruler. |47

"who, abandoning the sublimity of affection that had prevented the killing of (her) son, today attained joy through the death of Naraka (brought about) by this my beloved master (Viṣṇu)."[48] |48

The goddess of fortune indeed, who is the abode of the most pure yogis, is residing on his (Viṣṇu's) unblemished very broad chest, (but) you (Satyabhāmā) indeed were the worthy one at the bearing away of that flowering tree (the 'kalpataru' tree).[49] |49

Thus having declared the essence of Hari, seizing his thunderbolt which had a yellowish colour, and making a place for Hari in his heart, the Slayer of Vṛtra (Indra) thereupon went contemplating to his own abode. |50

(The city of Dvāravatī),[50] which possessed much splendour and had obtained a place at the shore of the ocean, was adorned by the joyful Tvaṣṭṛ who is dear to gods, ascetics, and brahmans, and who had been sent to earth by him who possesses a thunderbolt (Indra). |51

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[48] I am unable to analyse the compound 'vyatītarodhivihāyaḥ' and the verse is not commented upon by Nit.

[49] The syntax of this verse is most difficult and my rendering is therefore only tentative.

[50] The verse that should have preceded the present one is clearly missing in the MS as v. 51 constitutes a relative clause with Dvāravatī (Dvārakā) being the antecedent. Furthermore this missing verse is commented upon by Nit. and it is also included in the Malayalam manuscript earlier referred to (see p. 173 n. 22) and runs as follows:

harir atha surasadanagataḥ svargodyānāt tataś ca surasadanagataḥ|
prāptas sa dvāravatīṃ punar eva garutmataiva sadvāravatīm||

'Then having gone to the abode of the gods, Hari thereupon (departed) from the celestial garden, which had trees yielding much juice, and together with Garuḍa he reached a new Dvāravatī, (a city) of many gates.

Having descended from the Son of Vinatā (Garuḍa) while multitudes were bowing down, Kṛṣṇa gladdened the assembly of the 'vṛṣṇis'. Satyabhāmā (then) reached the home together with Halin (Balarāma). |52

Then all the wealth that had been acquired by the son of Vasudeva was distributed to his relatives. Likewise (all) the women were placed in different dwellings according to desire. |53

And the great sage (Kṛṣṇa) placed the Maṇiparvata mountain in a suitable most attractive region. He also found a place for the wishing tree,[51] which had assumed the form of a distinctive mark of his own abode. |54

The Lord, who is accompanied by sixteen thousand wives and who constantly deprives (his) enemies of (their) vigour, he, the householder, enjoyed according to his own law what had been eternally acquired (by him). |55

Then at one time a certain 'asura' was born on earth who provided the gods with equal battle.[52] He, Bāṇa by name, who was of incomparable strength, made the heaven free from gods.[53] |56

He (Bāṇa), who possessed the thousand of hands which made (his) enemies bow down, acquired a progeny from Śiva by means of most laborious ('sutata-ayena') excellent austerities. |57

The city of whom (Bāṇa), which was abounding in cloves,[54] cardamom, and fields of corn, (was situated) in the proximity of the Kailāsa mountain. And him, who wore an armlet of good conduct around his arm (?),[55] they called the son of Bali possessing great strength. |58

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[51] 'kalpanaga', a synonym of 'kalpataru, kalpadruma, kalpavṛkṣa', is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[52] This is a most uncertain rendering of 'dattasamajanyasuraḥ'.

[53] The story of Bāṇa's daughter Uṣā, her friend the 'apsaras' Citralekhā, and Aniruddha, is found in **Harivaṃśa**, Viṣṇup. 118.

[54] 'lavaṅka' instead of the usual form 'lavaṅga', is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[55] This is an uncertain rendering of the compound 'bhujanalasaṃvalitanayam' while the meaning of the word 'nala' is not clear to me.

A most desired excellent girl, Uṣā by name, with limbs of radiant lustre was born to him (Bāṇa) who was in charge of the lordship of the 'daityas'. There was no (other) such exquisit woman. |59

One day Umā with the most shining moon-like face, who had resorted to a forest region, was observed by Uṣā while sporting together with her joyful lord (Śiva).[56] |60

Beholding these two (Umā and Śiva) with respect, she whose face resembles the moon (Uṣā) thought languorously in her passion: "If such a one would become my husband then my eyes would be blessed with good fortune." |61

The goddess (Umā), who was born as the consort of the god (Śiva) and who is worthy to be known by the (whole) ascetic community, accomplished everything that was in the mind of Uṣā who is praised by all the gods. |62

(Umā said): "The beloved young man, who will arrive at (your) beautiful palace at night and who will enjoy you when you are being absorbed in sleep after your garment has been removed, he will become yours. |63

Thus having heard the utterance of Gaurī, Uṣā with much passion, overcome by joy and filled with enthusiasm because of these words, betook herself again from there to her own dwelling. |64

Then at night during sleep the young girl experienced the reality of that most excellent utterance of Ambā (Umā). Awakening, however, and not seeing the young man present, Uṣā having an emaciated body started to weep. |65

(Then) a certain friend, Citralekhā by name, who was incomparable in drawing pictures, said to her beloved (Uṣā) whose lotus-face[57] was overflowing with tears. |66

(Then Citralekhā) always possessing good conduct, was the foremost daughter of Bāṇa's minister Kumbhāṇḍa who, being a vessel of the nectar of pure insight, had resorted to the earth. |67

[56] The word 'mandharā', which is not commented upon by Nit., is not intelligible to me.

[57] 'nālīka', 'lotus', is recorded as a lexicographical word by MW.

Weeping (Citralekhā said): "O Uṣā, you spoil our happiness. Which is the arrow (piercing) your heart? Enough of concealment here. I, who have beautiful eyes, will remove your sorrow." |68

Thus having heard (these) most cherished words she (Uṣā) said with her mind filled with distress: "O friend, the attainment of this urgent matter can not be accomplished even if it can be reflected upon in the mind. |69

"O you who have beautiful teeth (Citralekhā)! This handsome thief with bristling hair on (his) chest came during night and (having) arrived he disappeared[58] (after) giving[59] me much[60] joy. |70

"O Citralekhā! Being abandoned by this dear person who had entered (my) heart, I am not capable of supporting (my) body which has fallen into unequalled affliction." |71

Having heard the sweet Uṣā's words – (Uṣā who was like) a jewel-box of good qualities – she (Citralekhā) drew on a spotless cloth the different people in (all) the worlds who were full of splendour.[61] |72

Seeing Aniruddha,[62] who was shining with various kinds of garlands, in the picture which had a brilliant splendour and which was pure and wonderful, she (Uṣā), who possessed much beauty, showed him to (her) friend (Citralekhā). |73

She (Citralekhā), having gone immediately with great speed to Dvāravatī due to her excellent yoga, took him (Aniruddha), who was asleep and brought him to Uṣā's place – (Uṣā) who excelled the wives of the gods (in beauty). |74

He, the wise one, who possessed much human beauty, sported together with Uṣā. There (in Uṣā's place) he was recognized by a group of spies who had orders from the 'asura' (Bāṇa) and were not known to other people.[63] |75

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[58] Lit. 'went to disappearance'.

[59] 'pra+vi+dhā-' means according to MW (1) 'to divide', (2) 'to meditate', (3) 'to place in front'. APTE adds the meaning 'to do or make' which I have rendered 'to give' in this context.

[60] Lit. 'stretched'.

[61] Double negation 'na‿an-ālokā'.

[62] 'prādyumni', lit. 'the son of Pradyumna', is not recorded in the dictionaries.

[63] 'parājñātatā' lit. means 'which possessed a state of non-recognition by others'.

Bāṇa, having heard that, became terrified in his heart[64] – (he) who strived for the happiness of his family – and having drawn (his) sword from its sheath, ordered the masses of (his) troops, who were eager to fight, against him (Aniruddha). |76

The darling of Pradyumna, full of strength and rapture, destroyed that army which arrived. At that moment Bāṇa reached him – (Bāṇa) who possessed bow and arrow and had an angry mind. |77

He (Aniruddha),[65] attacked him (Bāṇa) who (uttered) a drawn-out growl and made him distraught. But he (Aniruddha) was seized by (his) foe (Bāṇa) with a power that had equalled (that of) all his enemies.[66] |78

Bāṇa, whose behaviour was evil, exposed Aniruddha to (much) distress on account of the obstruction of (his) spies and there he (also) fettered the love-stricken Uṣā who had the same guilt. |79

Due to irresistability he (Bāṇa) felt much itching pain for battle and in a firm state of confidence ('a-mṛdu-āsthatayā') he said to Śaṅkara (Śiva) who stood (near) in the guise of a guard at the door:[67,68] |80

"O Lord (Śiva)! In order that I may not still more have an overwhelmingly strong itching for battle, quickly grant me a great fight with the enemy ('para-mahā-samaram') which will afford (me) the utmost laughter ('datta-parama-hāsam')."[69,70] |81

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[64] Lit. 'he became one who had terror in his heart'. 'śaṅku' usually means 'a nail', 'a spike', etc., and 'sahṛdayaśaṅku' could also mean 'he became one who had a spike in his heart'.

[65] See n. 62.

[66] I have translated Nit.'s reading of line a as the reading of the MS is not quite intelligible to me.

[67] 'avasthitaṃ dvāssthatayā' lit. means 'standing in the state of one who stands at the door'.

[68] Line b is very difficult and I am a little doubtful about its correct interpretation.

[69] According to Nit. 'dattaparamahāsam' could be understood either as an attribute of 'paramahāsamaram' (as in my transl.) or as an adverb: 'samaraviśeṣaṇaṃ kriyāviśeṣaṇaṃ vā'.

[70] On account of his devotion Bāṇa was granted a boon of Śiva. He wanted a son and Śiva gave him Kārtikeya's youngest son. Kārtikeya also gave him a banner and his vehicle, the peacock (cf. v. 83).

Thus addressed by Bāṇa,[71] who through his words had given a number of offerings,[72] the Supreme Spirit[73] (Śiva), who removes the ignorance of (his) devotees and is free from confusion, said full of laughter: |82

"When the banner, which is marked with the peacock and destroys the lives of (your) enemies, definitely falls, a very harsh battle will take place which will lend splendour to your face which is (now) pale."[74] |83

Thus addressed with compassion by the enemy of Pura (Śiva), Bāṇa, who is the protector of the 'daityas', longed for the breaking of the banner. |84

Then the Lord (Kṛṣṇa), even though he possessed the supreme most exalted consciousness[75] and had resorted to human 'māyā',[76] went in the night into a state of despondency, his mind depressed on account of the separation from Aniruddha. |85

The abode (of Aniruddha) for whose sake the Yadu people became subdued with hundreds of cries of affliction,[77] Nārada himself spoke about to the protector of the Yadus (Kṛṣṇa) – (Nārada) who is constantly resourceful.[78] |86

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kanīyān kārtikeyasya putro 'yaṃ pratigṛhyatām||
dhvajaṃ cāsya dadau prītaḥ kumāro hy agnitejasām|
vāhanaṃ caiva bāṇasya mayūraṃ dīptatejasām||

Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇup. 116, 17b, and 22.

Bāṇa had an irrepressible desire for battle and pleaded with Śiva for that. Śiva promised him that a battle would take place when his banner would fall.

bhavitā bāṇa yuddhaṃ vai tathā tac chṛṇu dānava|
dhvajasyāsya yadā bhaṅgas tava tata bhaviṣyati|
svasthāne sthāpitasyātha tadā yuddhaṃ bhaviṣyati||

ibid. 31.

[71] 'balijāta' ('born of Bali') is a name of Bāṇa not recorded in the dictionaries.

[72] That is, he had worshipped Śiva through his speech.

[73] 'paraḥ puruṣaḥ' usually refers to Viṣṇu.

[74] 'śobhāvīta' lit. means 'without brilliance'.

[75] Lit. 'standing in'.

[76] Although the Supreme Spirit Viṣṇu is Supreme Consciousness and therefore above experiencing individual feelings, he is, through his 'māyā' as the 'avatāra' Kṛṣṇa, subject to human feelings of sorrow and therefore distressed because of Aniruddha's disappearance.

[77] Lit. 'the Yadu people obtained a state of subjection which had hundreds of cries of affliction'.

[78] Lit. 'who possesses uninterrupted means'.

The Lord (Kṛṣṇa) thought of the foremost of birds (Garuḍa) who arrived quickly and together with that famous one Hṛṣīkeśa (Kṛṣṇa) went to the town of the enemy with much haste. |87

The mighty gods headed by Hara (Śiva),[79] bearing bows and destruction for (their) enemies, guarded the four gates (of Bāṇa's town), whose entrances were beautiful with (their) arches of jewels. |88

In the morning, he (Kṛṣṇa) arrived rapidly to the eastern 'gopura' which was surrounded by a multitude of enemies ('ari-saṃyad-vāri') and whose door (was guarded) by Maheśvara (Śiva) who afforded (it) protection and is always intent upon the satisfaction of the 'dānavas'. |89

There the feast-like battle took place between the two armies[80] for the sake of[81] Bali (Bāṇa) — (the armies) which purified the hearts of their worshippers[82] ('iṣṭa-āśaya-śodhanayoḥ') and (offered) no small amount of honour and wealth ('akṛśa-yaśas-dhanayoḥ') and the minds of whom (those in the armies) were free from fault[83] and great fear ('gatamatidoṣorubhayaḥ'). |90

Then the battle (at the same time) wonderful and dreadful between Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, the two esteemed deities of the world, proceeded and the host of gods became rapidly much terrified. |91

There Kapālin (Śiva) let loose a shower of arrows against the agitated Kṛṣṇa. They became moths in his (Kṛṣṇa's) shining splendour, something which was not possible in another place.[84] |92

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[79] Refers to the eleven Rudras; 'haramukhyā hareṣu ekādaśarudreṣu pradhānataḥ haraprabhṛtaya iti' Nit.

[80] 'dos', lit. 'forearm', here seems to mean an army according to Nit. who glosses with 'bala', 'a collection of arms', which sense is not recorded by MW.

[81] 'bhū' which means 'becoming', 'earth', etc., has also a less common meaning of 'object' or 'matter' MW. Here it is used in the dative case with a similar meaning as 'kṛte' ('for the sake of'); 'balibhuve bāṇakṛte' Nit.

[82] 'iṣṭānāṃ bhaktāmān' Nit.

[83] 'matidoṣa' means 'pragalbha' ('arrogance') according to Nit.

[84] 'āpede śālabhyaṃ tattejasi tābhir anyadeśālabhyam' lit. means 'a moth-like state, not obtainable in another place, was gained by them (the arrows) in his (Kṛṣṇa's) shining splendour'. 'śālabhya', an abstract noun like 'śalabhatā', is not recorded in the dictionaries. The word, however, with a similar idea is also used by Vāsudeva in **Tripuradahana**, 3,9:

tad dahanasamāyāṃ tu tvadruṣi bhagavaṃs trilocana samāyantu|
arayo 'mī śālabhyaṃ tvatto 'smākaṃ bhavet kiṃ īśālabhyam||

Kṛṣṇa's arrows which desired to go to Īśvara (Śiva) who was in the battle reached the end of the horizon ('dig-antam'). They (the arrows), the frightening ones of Kṛṣṇa, also suffered annihilation in his (Śiva's) splendour. |93

Thus this proper (event) took place between Kṛṣṇa and Sthāṇu (Śiva), these two who were equal in battle – the two Ancient Beings who on account of their identity are praised in the Vedas. |94

Thereafter a severe fever form Hara (Śiva) called Raudra, which was intent upon injury, fell rapidly on Hari (Kṛṣṇa) and a great fever from Viṣṇu reached quickly that one of Śiva, which was falling swiftly. |95

Then it blazed around these two (Kṛṣṇa and Śiva) who had burning ashes on their hands and who had vanquished (their) enemies – these two who have identical bodies,[85] possess great fevers and engage in battle-activities. |96

Due to the wind (from the battle) the earth shook and the moon and the fire did not produce light and the sun entered visibly into darkness. Śiva's fever fled away here (in the battle). |97

Then the Lord Viṣṇu, who as one should know, according to his nature ('anurūpāya'), is greatly resourceful in his activities, stupefied[86] Śiva ('Īśānam') with his weapon, injuring ('lambhayan')[87] Gaṇeśa ('gaṇeśānam'). |98

'Then O Lord! O Three-Eyed One! May these enemies go to a moth-like state in your wrath which is like consuming by fire! O Lord! What is unobtainable for us from you?'

śalabhatā' is met with the same imagery in **Siśupālavadha** 2,117b:

tava durāsadavīryavibhāv asau śalabhatāṃ labhatām asuhṛdgaṇaḥ||

'May the multitude of your enemies obtain a moth-like state in the blazing splendour of your might which is difficult to surpass!'

[85] Lit. 'bearing the same state of bodies'.

[86] 'vyajṛmbhayat' is a rather problematic word. Nit. glosses it with 'mohayām āsa'. This meaning is not found in MW: ('to yawn', 'to expand', 'to arise', 'to feel at ease', etc.) or APTE: ('to yawn', 'to spread everywhere', 'to rise', 'to display activity', etc.). But in the ŚKD among the meanings listed for 'vijṛmbhaṇa' one is 'kampana' ('shaking').

[87] A less common meaning of 'labh-' in the caus. is 'to cause to suffer' MW.

The Supreme Being, who with hundreds of arrows had stupefied Kālī, Vahni,[88] and Guha,[89] who brings death to (his) enemies and who has a voice like the rumbling of a cloud approached Bāṇa who had defeated the gods and engaged in battle with him. |99

Piercing Bāṇa with (his) arrows – (Bāṇa) who possessed a horrible desire for (causing) trouble – Hari cut off his (Bāṇa's) hands[90] with the discus – (Bāṇa) who possessed a mass of shining splendour ('sphurita-mahā-styānasya'). |100

Out of great anger Kṛṣṇa raised (his) discus to finally kill Bāṇa. Śitikaṇṭha (Śiva)[91] (then) smilingly, with compassion indicating good fortune (for Bāṇa), said: |101

"Not so! Do not kill this Bāṇa! He has come to me for refuge." (Then) Hari said to Hara who was speaking – (Hara) who engages in battles out of favour to his devotees: |102

"He (Bāṇa) is (already) granted you, the Lord, because of whom worship spreads day by day. Those who worship your name and my own or you worship also me." |103

Thus saying, he (Kṛṣṇa)[92] released Aniruddha and (his) wife who had been kept in prison[93] and went joyfully to Dvāravatī together with him (Aniruddha) who was in company with Uṣā. |104

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[88] I am not quite certain about the meaning of 'vahni' in this context. Nit. glosses it with 'śivasya bhūtaḥ'. It then seems to refer to some attendant of Śiva. 'vahni', which usually means 'fire', is also a name of the Maruts who according to some Purāṇic traditions are the sons of Śiva.

[89] 'guha' is another name of Skanda, the war-god and son of Śiva.

[90] Bāṇa possessed a thousand hands.

[91] 'śitikaṇṭha' lit. means 'he who has a dark neck'.

[92] 'asakau' is an example of the rare -k infix formations. Pāṇini 5,3,71 allows the addition of an -ak- before the final vowel of indeclinables and pronouns. The vārttika 1 on Pāṇini 7,2,107 presupposes 'asakau' and prescribes the formation of an alternative, 'asuka'. (Forms in -uk have not been found in Sanskrit but occur in Pali; see GEIGER, **Pali. Literatur und Sprache**, Strassburg 1916, § 109; see also WACKERNAGEL, **Altindische Grammatik**, Band II, 2, Göttingen 1954, § 220; cf. L. RENOU, **Sur quelques particularités du suffixe en -k- en sanskrit**, Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger, Leipzig 1931, p. 164 and id. **Sur la structure du kāvya**, p. 68). Pāṇini, 7,3,45,47 presuppose these infix formations of 'yad', 'tad', and 'etad'. However, forms with -ak- are almost completely restricted to the Vedic language. ("Dem Epos und den klassischen Autoren sind diese Bildungen im ganzen fremd", WACKERNAGEL, loc. cit.) F. EDGERTON has dealt with the pronominal infix formations in the Vedic texts and describes diminutives on the one hand and by their debased vulgarity to the perforatives on the other." The K–

He (Bāṇa) entered his (own town) from the battle.[94] Then on account of his dancing before Śambhu (Śiva), Bāṇa, who was no longer Lord of the 'dānavas',[95] gained the lordship of the attendant of Śiva ('prāptam ... gāṇapatyam). |105

The shining Lord, the purifier of the earth which had been full of 'asuras' and which was (now) free from the stain of the Kali age,[96] lived at his own pleasure in the town of the Vṛṣṇis which (already) before was sacred to Viṣṇu. |106

Viṣṇu, a (genuine) forest fire for the forest of (his) enemies on account of (his) noble activities ('su-apadānatayā'), sported (thereafter) in Dvāravatī – (Viṣṇu) to whose feet the Yādavas bowed down. |107

Thus Ends Canto Six
and
This Book As Well

Suffixes of Indo-Iranian. Part 1: The K-Suffixes in the Veda and Avesta, JAOS, Vol. 31, p. 147. Two examples of 'asakau' are found in the **Vājasaneyisaṃhitā** 23, 22-23:

yakā́sakaú śakuntikā́halag íti váñcati|
ā́hanti gabhé páso nígalgalī́ti dhā́rakā||
yakó 'sakaú śakuntaká āhálag íti váñcati|
vívakṣata iva te múkham ádhvaryo mā nas tvám abhíbhāṣathāḥ||

Outside the Vedic literature these infix formations have been found in Bhadrabāhucarita ('mayaka', 'tvayaka', 'take', 'takaiḥ'; see JACOBI, **Ueber die Entstehung der Çvetāmbara und Digambara Sekten,** p. 9; cf. also WACKERNAGEL, loc. cit.) In classical Sanskrit literature 'asakau' has been noticed in **Śiśupālavadha,** 7,53:

na khalu vayam amuṣya dānayogyāḥ pibati ca pati ca yasakau rahas tvam|
vraja vitapam amuṃ dadasva tasyai bhavatu yataḥ sadṛśoś cirāya yogaḥ||

'We (I) are not worthy of this present. Give the branch to her who sips from (your lips) in secret and protects you. Go! so that one account of this (present) a long union between you two may take place – (you) who are each other's equal'.

93. The compound 'cārakāvani' is not recorded in the dictionaries; 'cārakāvaniruddhaṃ bandhanāgāre niruddham' Nit.

94. Nit. glosses 'ānartana' with 'yuddha'. 'ānartana' means 'dancing' but one rare meaning of 'ānarta' is 'war'; MW only L.

95. Lit. 'to whose (function) as a Lord of the "dānavas" there was an end'. Due to his devotion for Śiva, Bāṇa has been released from his 'asura' state.

96. 'uddhata' lit. means 'raised up'.

APPENDIX

The aorist passive form in -i

A conspicuous feature of Vāsudeva's language is the occurence of the rarely used 3rd pers. sg. aor. pass. form in -i. It is frequently met with in the **Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya** and the **Tripuradahana.** In the **Śaurikathodaya** the following forms occur. Those forms, which are not recorded in MONIER-WILLIAMS, **A Sanskrit – English Dictionary,** or W. D. WHITNEY, **The Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language,** have been marked with *.

akūji	2,47a
*akrīḍi	1,19b
*agādi	5,36b
agrāhi	6,78b
ajani	1,5a; 2,31b 2,32b; 2,43a 4,47a; 4,48a 4,67b; 5,74a 5,81a; 6,59a
adāyi	5,45b
*adrāvi	4,24b
*anādi	4,20a
*anāvi	1,73a
*anāhi	1,32a
apāti	4,23b
apāyi	5,48b
abodhi	6,75b
abhāvi	2,43ab
amoci	4,66a
alamakāri	6,51b
*arodhi	3,41a
alābhi	4,20b
*alāli	1,54a
avāri	4,73b
āpi	2,46a; 4,38b 5,84a
*āśvāsi	1,54b
aikṣi	3,32b; 6,60b
niramāyi	4,35b
prādarśi	4,12b
prādhāri	3,11a
samprāpi	5,40b
samajani	5,1b; 6,56a 6,94a
*samadāli	2,46a
samāropi	6,19b

GLOSSARY

The glossary lists the words and compounds not found in MONIER-WILLIAMS, **A Sanskrit – English Dictionary**, the meanings not given therein (marked with *) as well as those words recorded by MONIER-WILLIAMS as found only in lexicographical works (L).

ati + kṝ-	to shower	4,66b
anu + sru-	to emit	5,22a
anyaṅka	stainless	4,53b
abhi + raṭ-	to roar	2,18a
abhiśaṃsā	an accusation	5,24a
amalasat	a pure mind	1,40b
	a star	2,40b
arya	excellent	5,29a L.
ava + aṭ-	to roam about	3,31b
*ava + gā-	to understand	4,9a
*avatāna	a multitude	5,53a
avalokanī	looking	5,11a
*avasthiti	a low state of mind (?)	3,64a
*asura	a kind of flower	1,58a
asurapa	Naraka	6,10a
aṃśu	affliction (in udaṃśu, free from affliction)	1,44b
*āgas	punishment	3,32b
ānartana	a battle	6,105a L.
*āpakva	an ascetic	5,50b
āraṇa	the Āraṇyakas	1,66; 5,50a
*ā + lamb-	to come	2,8b
ā + sṛp-	to advance	4,31b
ā + hā-	to come	3,26a
*ulapa	a kind of coarse grass?	1,46b
ṛkṣapa	Jāmbavat	5,21a
aina	belonging to the sun	4,66a
kamanī	a beloved woman	3,41a
kalpanaga	the wishing tree	6,54b
keśava	a kind of flower	1,57a L.
galin	a bull	6,14a L.
golā	ink	3,14a L.
cārakāvani	a prison	6,104a

jayitva	victory	3,21a
ḍambha	hypocrisy	4,53a
*tarjita	disgraced	3,22b
*tāna	an expanse	3,2a
todin	causing pain	3,54a
diti	splitting	6,21a L.
dos	an army	6,90b
dyutsatpati	Indra	6,37b
dyusad	a god	1,67b; 6,6b 6,30b; 6,32b; 6,41b L.
dhanya	virtuous	3,42b L.
dharāja	a tree	4,16b
dharaṇisuta	Naraka	6,13b
naktamāla	a kind of flower	1,59b L.
nāgāda	Garuḍa	5,69b
nālīka	the lotus flower	6,66a L.
*ni + dā-	to give	5,30a
*paśu	fire (in apaśu, free from forest fire)	3,17b
pulomanandanā	Sacī	6,24a
*prabarha	a multitude	1,74b
*pralaghu	very light	5,44b
*pra + vi + dhā-	to give	6,70b
prādyumni	Aniruddha	6,73a; 6,77a 6,79a
bakoṭa	a kind of crane	2,35b L.
bandhanī	a fetter	3,42b L.
*bandhurā	Subhadrā, a sister of Kṛṣṇa	4,25a
*balahan	Indra	5,18a
balijāta	the asura Bāṇā	6,82a
bahulā	a cow	2,13b L.
bhojapa	Kṛṣṇa	4,60a
madhunāśin	Kṛṣṇa	2,2b
madhuroddhṛ	Kṛṣṇa	4,10b
māṃsadṛś	a human being	3,29a
*rantṛ	one who sports	3,54b
lavaṅka	the clove tree	6,18a
*lābha	wealth	3,14a
lālasita	desire	5,62b
*lālin	respecting	3,24a
lolapa	a trembling leaf	2,9a
vanada	a cloud	2,33a L.
vallavī	a cowgirl	1,61b L.
vāsavānuja	Kṛṣṇa	4,80b
*vi + jṛmbh-	to stupefy	6,98b
vipravara	Garuḍa	4,4a
*virāj	Garuḍa	6,8a

śakramaṇi	a sapphire	1,27a
śālabhya	a moth-like state	6,92b
santamana	exhaustion	3,51a
sanḍhārin	possessing speed	5,6a
samudreka	abundance	4,35a
sam + ud + mad-	to be deluded	5,52b
sāraṅga	an elephant	3,22a L.
sutrāman	Indra	3,12a L.
seviṣṇu	enduring	5,60b
*hula	a sharp branch (?)	2,10a

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